

A
TREATISE
CONTAINING
THE ORIGINALL

of *Unbeliefe, Misbeliefe, or Mis-*
perswasions concerning the Veritie,
Unitie, and Attributes of the Deitie:
with Directions for rectifying our
beliefe or knowledge in the
fore-mentioned points.

On the Creed: Book 5
By THOMAS JACKSON Dr. in *K*
Divinitie, Vicar of Saint Nicholas Church
in the famous Towne of *New-castle vpon Tine,*
and late Fellow of *Corpus Christi Colledge*
in OXFORD.

JOHN. 17. 3.

*This is life eternall to know thee the onely true God
and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent.*

LONDON

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TO
THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE

Sir HENRY DANVERS,

Knight, Baron of *Dantesey*,
his Honourable and singu-
lar good Lord.

RIGHT HONOURABLE;



S in drawing these
and former lines I
haue had no other
aspect or aime, saue
onely to discover
the by-paths which
lead vnto error, and to presse for-

A 3

wards

THE EPISTLE

wards by a cleare way towards the truth : so in publishing of them I haue taught them to look backwards not forwards, as being more desirous to testifie my thankful respect, either to the knowne Honourable Patrons of good Acts, or furtherers of my private studies, than to feede ambitious fancies with the humours of the time, by obtruding my selfe vpon the dispensers of great dignities or preferments. My resolution being thus set, I saue a labour in dedicating these papers to your *Lordship*, whose Honourable favours and munificence towards that famous Vniversitie (whereof I haue long continued an vnworthy *member*, but to which I shall ever continue the loue and obedience of a faithfull *Sonne*) doe chal-

D E D I C A T O R Y.

challenge a better testimony of my observance than I can now expresse, or hope hereafter to present your *Lordship* withall. But God be thanked, our famous Mother hath many sonnes a great deale more able than my selfe to vndergoe this service. Leaving it therefore vnto them, I shall giue my selfe abundant satisfaction and contentment for my labours past, and take encouragement to continue the like, if it shall please your *Lordship* to accept these present, as an vndoubted pledge of that thankfull respect and observance which I owe vnto your *Lordship* for your favours and bountie towards my selfe in particular, the memory of which hath beene more gratefull vnto me, in that I was made to feele

THE EPISTLE &c.

them, before I was so much as known
by sight vnto your *Honour*. Thus
with my best prayers for continu-
ance of your *Lordships* increase of
honour and true happinesse, I hum-
bly take my leaue, and rest

From Penly in *Hartfordshire*

March. 2. 1624.

Your Lordships in all
dutie and observance

THOMAS JACKSON.



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A
TREATISE
CONTAINING

the Originall of vnbeliefe, mis-
beliefe, or misperswasions, concer-
ning the veritie, vnitie, and attributes
of the Deitie: with Directions for
rectifying our beliefe or know-
ledge in the fore-mentio-
ned poynts.

SECTION I.

*Of the ingrafted Notion of a Deitie, and the
originalls of Atheisme.*



Theisme and irreligion are
diseases so much more dange-
rous than infidelitie or Idola-
trie, as infidelitie is than here-
sie. Every hereticke is in part
an Infidell, but every infidell
is not in whole or part an he-
reticke. Every Atheist is an in-
fidell. So is not every Infidell an Atheist. The name of

B

Hereticke

Section. I.

Hereticke is common to all, and proper onely to such as either deny or mis-beleue any one Article in the Apostles Creed. Infidels all are to be accounted, which either deny or beleue not the Articles concerning Christ. Such are the Iewes, Turkes, Mahumetans in generall &c. whom no man calls Atheists. An Atheist he is, *Qui titubat in Limine*, which either denies or beleues not the very first Article in the Creed, *God or the divine providence*. Now seeing beleefe, as it is terminated to the first words of the Creed, is as the Diametrall line or *Axis* which severs Atheisme or irreligion from Religion, whether true or false, and doth as it were constitute two distinct Hemispheres of men; it will be necessary in the first place to examine the originall meaning of the first words in the Creed; *I beleue in God.*

CHAPTER I.



To beleue in God is originally no more than to beleue there is a God, who is in all things to be beleued. Of this beleefe, trust or confidence in God is the necessary consequent in Collapsed men; Despaire the necessary consequent of the same or like beleefe in Collapsed Angels.

I.



O beleue in God hath gone currant so long, for as much as to put trust or confidence in Him, that now to call it in, or make it goe for lesse, will perhaps be thought an vsurpation of authoritie, more then criticall, and much greater then befits

fits vs. Notwithstanding if on Gods behalfe wee may plead what Lawyers doe in Cases of the Crowne, *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*, that the Auncient of daies (vnto whose soveraignie all truth is from eternitie essentially annexed) may not be preiudiced by antiquitie of Custome, or prescription, especially whose originall is erroneous: the case is cleare, That *to beleene in God*, is in their intention which first composed this Creed, no more then to beleene there is a God, or to giue credence to his *Word*. For iustifying this assertion, I must appeale from the *English Dialect*, in which the manner of speech is proper and naturall, were it consonant to the meaning of the originall, as also from the *Latine*, in which the phrase being forreine and vncouth, must be valued by the *Greeke*, whose stamp and Character it evidently beares. Now the *Greeke* $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, as also the *Hebrew* phrase, wherevnto by sacred Writers it was framed, is no more then hath beene said, *To beleene there is a God*; otherwise we must beleene not only in God the Father, in Christ the Sonne, and in the holy Ghost, but in the Catholike Church, in the Communion of Saints, in the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and in the resurrection of the bodie, and in life everlasting, seeing the *Greeke particle* (vsually expresseed by the *Latine* In) is annexed after the same manner to all these objects of our beleefe, as is apparant in the *auncient Greeke Creeds*. And he that diligently reads the translation of the *Septuagint*, shall finde the *Greeke* phrase which is verbatim rendred by the *Latine*, *in Deum credere*, *to beleene in God*, promiscuously vsed for the other *credere Deo*, *to beleene God*.

Sectio. I.

^b Comment:

in Gen 15.

v. 6. Vide

2 Reg. 17.

14.

Observatio-
num. lib. 2.

cap. 1. The

position

prefixed

by way of

title to his

Chapter is

Recte dici ex

Hebraismo,

[credo in

Mosem, & in

resurrectio-

nem mortuo-

rum.]

* Ribera in

cap. 3. Iona.

numb. 29.

Vide Coppen

in Psal. 106.

vers. 12.

2. Or if besides the evident records of the auncient Copies, personall witnesses be required; amongst the auncient I know few, amongst moderne writers none, more competent then those which are expressly for vs, as *Beza*, ^b *Mercer*, ^c *Drusius*, vnto whom we may adde ^{*} *Ribera* and *Lorinus*. Now as to vse the benefit of a truth known and testified is alwayes lawfull, so in this case it is to vs most expedient, almost necessarie. For either I did not rightly apprehend whiles I read it, or at least now remember not, how the Schooleman remooues the stumbling block which he had placed in the very entry to this Creed, [If to beleue in God be as much as to put trust or confidence in Him; by exacting a profession of this Creed at all mens mouths, we shall enforce a great many to professe a lie.] For of such as not onely out of ordinarie charitie, but vpon particular probabilities, we may safely acquit from actual Atheisme or contradicting Infidelitie, a great number doe not put their trust or confidence in God; this being the marke whereat the beleefe of novices must ayme, not the first step they are to make in this progresse. And for my selfe, (vntill I be better instructed) if a poore dejected soule should come vnto me with a complaint of his distrust or diffidence, I would not instantly vrge him to make proclamation of his trust in God against his conscience; for this were to quench smoaking flax, by violent blowing those weake and smothered sparkles, which should be charily revived by milde and gentle breathing. The contrarie advice on my part, or practise on his, should not want an approved patterne; To confesse his present vnbeleefe, whiles he prayes for future increase of such weak beleefe,

beliefe, as he may safely make profession of. And, as the fire once throughly kindled, bursts out of its owne accord into a lasting flame: so beliefe, once inwardly planted, wil naturally bring forth stedfast confidence, without farther plantation or superaddition of any new beliefe or perswasion. Many beginning their faith the other way, may for a long time be stiffly perswaded, that *they beleene in God*, when in deed they doe not truly beleene him, his Word, or his mercies. These no man firmly can beleene, but he shall assuredly beleene in *him*, yea put his whole trust and confidence in his *goodnesse*. Howbeit, as much as now I write, would hardly be permitted me, in most mens hearing, to speake, without this or the like interpellation, [Shall we then beleene in Saints or good Angels, because we assuredly beleene there be such natures? Or shall we say the wicked Angels beleene in God, because they beleene his being more firmly then we can doe, and know his word as clearely?]

3. That inferior subiects salute not every officer in the Court after the same manner they doe the Prince, is not because they see not the one as perfectly as the other: rather the more fully they discern them by one and the same inerring sight, the better they conceiue the different respect which is due to their severall presences. Angels we beleene are ministring spirits, appointed to execute Gods will, whose maiestie they adore, as fervently as we doe; putting greater confidence in his mercie then we can doe; even because their knowledge of it is more cleare, their experience of it more vndoubted. But the better we beleene this their subordinatiō vnto God, the lesse shall

Sectio. 1.

we be inclined to beleue in them, the more to put our confidence in *God*, in whom even the Angells trust. Againc, admitting trust or affiance in God to receiue continuall increase, according to the growth of our beliefe of his *word* or *being*; That Diuells albeit they beleue or know both more clearly then the best of vs, should notwithstanding perpetually remaine without any trust or affiance in Him or his mercies; no man vpon iust examination of the difference between their collapsed estate and ours, can decme strange or doubtfull, much lesse a doubt, as some in their writings suppose, insoluble, vnlesse we make trust or affiance in God, essentially to difference our beliefe of *his being*, from theirs. If the Kings Maiestie should proclaime a generall pardon to a number of knowne rebells, and vow execucion of iudgement without mercie vpon some principall offenders, which had maliciously and cunningly seduced their simplicitie: I suppose his will and pleasure equally manifested to both, and so beleued, would as much dishearten the one, as encourage the other to relie vpon his clemencie. Such altogether notwithstanding, is the case of men and wicked Angells: the one beleues Christ tooke the womans seed, and therefore cannot, without such wilfull mistrust of the promise of life as was in his first parents vnto Gods threats of death; despaire of redemption by the eternall sacrifice: The other as firmly beleue, or rather evidently know, that Christ in no wise tooke the Angelicall nature, and without this ground, the better they beleue his incarnation, the lesse are their hopes of their owne redemption.

4. Briefly the bringing of soules to God being the end, as of our preaching, so of our writing; the first point, as I conceiue, we are to teach such as desire to come vnto him, is, to *beleue that he is*: The second, *that he is a rewarder of all them that diligently seeke Him*. Not all the eloquence of Men or Angels, not the most pathetical exhortations the one can frame, or the most forcible impulsions the other can vse; are halfe so powerfull to draw our hearts after our God, as the distinct orthodoxall explication of his Essence and Attributes, of his power, his wisdom, and goodnesse, either generall in respect of all the workes of his hands, or peculiar to Mankind, visibly set forth vnto vs in the life, the actions, and passions of our Saviour. What beliefe so ever is not conceived from sober and frequent meditations of these truthes, what confidence soever is not brought forth by beliefe so conceived, will by Sathan one time or other easily be impeached of bastardie. Even when this *faith* by which we now walke shall be converted into perfect *fight*, everlasting confidence shall not outstart, but rather follow it. Much lesse should we in this vale of darknesse begin our edification in faith, at the open profession of assured or consummate confidence, or seeke to frame it by imitation of such outward practises, as strength of *faith*, and full assurance of Gods favours, haue emboldened hearts, thoroughly enflamed with sincere zeale of truth, to vndertake. The truth then supposed as chiefe supporter to the discourse following, is, That without some precedent defect of our apprehensions, there can be no want of true confidence: and faile we may, as most doe, in apprehen-

Section. I. lions either of the *veritie*, *unitie*, or of the *Nature* and *Attributes* of the *Godhead*. The internall originall or manner of our defects or errors in these three points we are to set downe in this Booke; the right explication of the Article propold in the next.

CHAP. II.

Disputation is not the readiest way to cure or reclaime an Atheist.

TO dispute with such as deny manifest and received *Principles*, were to violate a fundamentall law of the Schooles; which in matters of faith and sacred morality, is to be religiously kept, as in other respects, so chiefly in this: That generall Maximes, whence particular truths, and conclusions of best vse must be derived, can hardly be proved by arguments more cleare and evident then themselves. Now to interpose proofes of lesse truth or perspicuitie then is the matter to be proved, is but to eclipse the evidence of it, (which, of it selfe, would in due season shine to calme and purified meditations) or to provoke such as delight in trying masteries of strength or skill in arguing, to assault truths otherwise safe enough from all attempts, did they not see them so weakly guarded vpon preparation. Thus the discovery of timorous lookes, or meane provision, often encourageth base and cowardly thecues to encounter passengers, whose number or presence, they durst not behold, if they did not betray themselves. For this reason, amongst others,


thers, I will not in the first place vse the benefit of di-
vers Schoolemens labours, to proue, by strength of
speculative reason, there is a God ; although they
bring abundance of reasons, all irrefragable to an in-
genuous well disposed contemplator : but, vnto such,
this principle is of all others most cleare and evident
in it selfe, as being most deeply implanted in the *rea-
sonable nature* ; not acquired by vse of sense or obser-
vation. The best method, in my opinion, to prevent
Atheisme, or cure an Atheist, would be to hold the
Meane betwixt the contemplatiue Philosopher, and
the practicall Physitian. I haue heard of some so far
over-growne with melancholy, that they would eate
no meate ; conceiting, either they had no mouths, or
that their teeth were as soft as butter. For a Physitian,
to haue attempted remoovall of such fancies, by force
of reason, or importunate suggestion of contrary per-
swasions, had beene *cum ratione insanire*, to haue
prooved himselfe as mad, as his patients were melan-
choly. The readiest way (as not long agoe hath beene
experienced) to relieue parties thus affected, is, for a
time rather to assent vnto, then contradict them ; that
so, by promising a remedie to the supposed maladie,
an entrance may be made to purge the humour
which breeds the false imagination. And he that
would cure an ordinary Atheist, should, as not sooth
him in his impietic, so not directly or fiercely en-
counter him with syllogisticall proofes, or discourses
metaphysicall ; for so (*agrescit medendo*) he will grow
sicker by seeing the medicine : but labour rather, se-
cretly to vndermine the internall disposition whence
such unhallowed imaginations spring. Atheisme in
graine

Sectio. II

graine is but a spirituall madnesse, arising from the abundance of such distemper in the soule, as in proportion answers to melancholy in the body. Would men looke into their owne hearts in time, before they be over-shadowed with such griesly qualities; they might behold the image of God engraven in them, and, as it were by an ocular demonstration, be better enformed in this point, then by the disputes of Philosophers.

CHAP. III.

The Notion of the Deitie or divine power is most naturall vnto all men. How this Notion being most naturall vnto all, is eclipsed and defaced in many.

- I.  Hat the internall notion of powers divine which guide this visible worke of nature, is most naturall to mankinde, needes no further prooffe then its owne extent and vniversalitie. * *This sure ground wee haue (sayth Tully) to beleue there be Gods, in that there is no Nation so brutish or inhumaine, but is season'd with some opinion of the Gods. Many conceiue amisse of them (for so much, bad custome in all like cases, will effect) yet all suppose a vertue or power divine; not drawne hereto by voyces of others or debatements: This is an opinion establisht not by ciuill lawes or institutions. Now the free or unsollici-*

* *Ut porro
firmissimum
hoc afferri
videtur, cur
deos esse cre-
damus, quod
nulla gens
tam fera, ne-
mo omnium
tam sit im-
mans, cuius*

*mentem non imbuerit deorum opinio. Multi de diis praua sentiunt (id enim vitioso mo-
re effici solet) omnes tamen esse vim, & naturam diuinam arbitrantur. Nec verò id col-
locutio hominum, aut consensus efficit: non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus. Omni-
autem in re consensus omnium gentium lex natura putanda est. Tuscul. Quaest. Lib. 1^o.*

ted

is naturall to all men.

II

ted consent of all Nations concerning any matter, is to be esteemed as the Law of Nature.

Cap. 3.

2. This observation of times more auncient, is fully acquitted from the exception of moderne Atheists by the plentiful experiments of the age late past; wherein diverse Countries, peopled with inhabitants of different manners and education, haue beene discovered, the very best being more rude and barbarous then any Nation knowne but by heare-say to the *Romans*. And yet, even in this refuse of *Barbarians*, the very worst, (such as for their rudenesse and uncivilitie could hardly be discerned from brute beasts) approue themselves to be of better lineage (*ἂ γένος ὑπερχρονίς τῷ θεῷ*) in that they acknowledge Gods or superior powers, whom they honour with sacrifices & other rites, in testimony of their gratitude for benefits received from them. As if the signification of Mans obligations to an invisible power for his life, his health, his food, and other necessities; or, at least for privileges from disasters, or mischances, * were as naturall to him, as fawnings, or like dumbe signes of loue vnto their fosterers or cherishers, are to dogs, or other domesticke and tame creatures. The civill wisdom which appeares in *Lycurgus* Lawes, *Numaes* Institutions, with other like amongst the more civill sort of auncient Heathens, may probably argue abilitie in them of framing many particular rites of Religion, as politick *Sophismes* to retaine the simple in awe and

* Act. 17. 29

* Affluere interea quotidie ex omnibus locis noua eius gentis, et copiosa multitudo, ut inuissitas nostrorum hominum barbaram gestantium formas,

cultumq; viserent: fructus, pisces, aurum, panem, & alia alimenta, undiq; afferentes: ac simiarum more vestigia ritusq; Christianorum imitantes: quoties hi genua flexerant, flebant & illi: Christiani reuerenter oculos in Caelum sustulerant, Insuper & ipsi tollebant. Deniq; quicquid ab Hispanis ad recitandum Ave Maria mane, & vesperi conuenientibus fieri soleret, itidem ab istis fiebat. Benzonius in Descrip. America. lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. 35.

blind

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blind devotion to their Hests. Albeit, the invention of such false worships, without imitation of some true patterne formerly knowne, would haue beene very hard, if not impossible, even vnto these wise and prudent Lawgivers. Nor could their artificiall inventions haue wrought so successfully vpon their mindes that were seduced by them; vnlesse they had beene naturally inclined vnto the ingrafted truth of the generalls; vnder pretence of whose soveraigne right these particulars were commended. But who would father the first *Notion* of a *Deitie* and Religion, vpon policie, rather than nature, when it appeares not vniversall onely, but perpetuall to the severall generations of sundry people in whom no print of any policie, saue meerly naturall, is now extant?

3. Some scruple notwithstanding may here be ministred to yong Students, from these or the like vagrant Axioms, whose seate or proper subiect is not so well knowne as they are frequent. [1. *That the decrees or iniunctions of Nature cannot be preiudiced by Custome or education.* 2. *That such generall principles as by her light are cleare, can hardly be denied by any of her children*]

When as the experience, of later times especially, presents vnto vs a great many, (vnto whom Nature in distribution of her other gifts hath shewed her selfe no stepmother, but rather indulgent, as to her darlings,) all mightily oppugning this truth, which we that are (as they deeme) of duller capacitie in matters secular, devoutly obey as her vndoubted Law. But here we may well doubt whether bad education, or evill customs, haue not better enabled these men to striue against such practises as this Dictate of *Nature* prescribes,

scribes, than vtterly to disclaime all sense of her suggestions, or shake off all secret *notions* of her summons. How euer that be; (for we know our owne hearts not theirs, nor can we beleue them, that will not beleue there is a God, albeit they would interpose an oath for our assurance one way or other) this we know, that nothing can be more naturall to man than reason. And yet, how many haue we scene, in whom *nature* and *art* haue done their parts, by too much studie or intemperance become so vtterly destitute of all vse of reason or discretion, that such actions or demeanure as nature prescribes to all men as they are reasonable, haue bene more neglected by them, than by brute beasts; yea oftentimes furiously inverted.

4. This instance amongst others may be our warrant for restrayning the former Axiome [*that Nature cannot be preiudiced by Custome*] to *nature*, either altogether inanimate or meerely sensitive; whose inclination is single and but one way set: or if appliable to the reasonable or intellectuall nature, whose propensions as they are many, so are they freely fashionable to diuerse meanes, and apt to be directed to contrary ends; it is true onely of the generall facultie or remote propensions, not of their actuall promptnesse, vse, or exercise. Many there be so extreemly vicious, that their mindes seeme now, *de facto*, wholly bent to doe others mischief: This notwithstanding prooues not that *nature* hath sowne no seeds of vertue in their soules, but rather their wilfull suffering these to be choaked and stifled, by cherishing contrary desires, or imbracing pleasant allurements vnto euill. If such blindness haue by bad custome crept on some, that
they

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they cannot now discerne any lineaments of Gods image in their hearts : it will not hence follow that this light of *nature* whereby they might haue scene *Him*, did never shine vnto them, but rather that they haue smothered it, because they loued the workes of darkenesse better then the deeds of light, purpose-ly obliterating all resemblances of *Him* who is the *a-venge* of euill, whose pourtraiture their first parents had blurred by imprinting his enemies picture vpon it. Nothing more easie than for others (so they will be observant) clearely to discerne the liue image, not of the old man, but of the old serpent, in such as cannot, or will not see the image of God in themselves.

5. Besides this difference betweene the inclinations of *nature* in man and in creatures inanimate or irrationall ; a difference there is, not much observed, but worthy of diligent observation, betweene common principles merely speculatiue or abstract, and others practicall or morall. The latter may be in many intensiuely more cleare than the former, as indeed they are more naturall in respect they are more deeply implanted in the very soule, not let into the braine by externall senses, albeit even for this reason they are by many lesse regarded, as being more familiar then such speculatiue notions as these [*every whole is greater than its part : twice two make foure, or such like,*] of whose certaintie no man at any time can doubt, not that our nature as reasonable, is of it selfe more inclined to abstract speculations, than to moralities, but that speculatiue notions are seated in the head or utmost confines of the soules regiment, as in an Academie

mie or Cloyster, priviledged from such tumultuous broiles as might divert our intentions from beholding them, or retract our inclinations from adherence to their truth. On the contrary, such disturbances are most frequent in the Court or Pallace of this little Kingdome, wherein morall *notions* of God and goodnesse have their necessary abode, and these *notions* are, vpon this occasion, vsually either tainted with the contagion of such noysome lusts, or much weakned by the reluctation of such contrary desires as lodge in the same roome or closet with them.

6. Our readinesse, in heat of passion, or interposition of causes concerning our owne commodities, to recall religious motions, whose vndoubted truth and equitie, we could, in calme and sober thoughts, be well contented to seale (if need were) with our blood, will easily induce mindes capable of any vicissitude of quiet and retired cogitations, after turbulent and working fancies, to admit the former difference betweene dictates of nature seated in the braine, and others ingrafted in the heart, to be, for the manner of their severall evidences or perspicuities, much what like the lightsomnesse of the inferior and supreme region of the ayre. The Sunnebeames are sometimes more bright in this lowest part than in the vppermost, wherein they suffer no reflexion: yet are they in this lower often so eclipsed with clouds, with mists, or stormes, as he that did never looke out of doores but in such dismall weather, might well imagine his day to be but night, in respect of that clearnesse he might perpetually behold, were his habitation above the clouds. The continuall
smoake

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fmoake of noysome lust, the steames of bloudy and revengefull thoughts, the vncessant exhalations of other vncleane and vast desires, which raigne in the Atheists heart, can never obscure the Mathematicall or Logicall *notions* of abstract truths in his braine: The principles of moralitie or religion, which *Nature* hath planted in his heart and conscience, they quickly may, they alwayes doe, more or lesse eclipse, according to the strength and permanency of their infectious and incompatible qualities. Happy it is, that he can acknowledge, and somtimes magnific, the light of *nature* in matters speculatiue, or concerning the body onely, and now and then bragge, as if he were her sonne elect, and others but reprobates, in comparison of that heroicall spirit she hath enabled him with in busineses of State or policie. For, who is this his Goddesse *Nature*? Can he tell vs? or what is her light that he should so much glory in it? Doth she not borrow it from the father of lights, whose habitation is in that radiant brightnesse which is inaccessible? Thus I suppose, such as dwell vnder the poles would commend the lightsomnesse of the ayre which they daily behold and houely breath in, but deny that there were any such glorious body as the Sunne that did enlighten it; did it never come further Northward than within three or foure degrees of *Aries*, or never moue farther Southward than within as many of *Libra*. Now as the onely way vterly to dissuade men from an opinion so palpably grosse, as, by the former supposition, might be conceived, would be to remoue them out of their native clime into ours: so the best meanes an Atheist can vse

to

to refute his impious errors in denying there is a God, is, to relinquish his wonted courses in the wayes of darknesse, and to haue his conversation, for a time at least, or vpon triall, with the sonnes of light. And to make this triall, he may perchance be sooner induced by discovering the severall heads or first originalls of his sacrilegious misperswasions, more particularly.

CHAP. IIII.

Atheisme, Idolatrie, Heresie, Hypocrisie, &c. haue one common roote. What estate or condition of life is freest from, or most obnoxious vnto Atheisme, or temptations thereto tending. Of Atheisme in passion onely, not habituated.

I.



ALL of those almost numberlesse inclinations, which are vnited in the indivisible humane soule, as lines sphericall in their center, being apt to be impelled or poyssed by their proper objects: it is impossible their severall bents should admit an equalitie of strength; seeing as well their internall growth or *eminencies*, as the *potencies* of their objects, are vnequall. Much more, must many of their actuall *motions* needs be incompatible, in as much as the poynts whereon they are set, and whereto they *moue*, are oft times extreemly opposite and directly contrary. Hence, as in the former * Booke is observed, our assent vnto such branches of supernaturall truth or goodnesse, as are stiffly counterswayed by naturall de-

C

sires

* Of Iustifying faith.

Section. I. fires or affections, either for qualitie or intention, most repugnant, is alwayes wrought with greatest difficultie. For even this *assent* which we terme Christian belief, is but an inclination or bent of the humane soule vnto matters revealed by the spirit; whose divine attractions or impussions are alwayes oppugned by contrary lustings of the flesh; more or lesse, according to the diversitie of their strength or impetuousnesse, whether in their acts or habits. Now seeing Atheisme is but a compleat or totall *eclipse, whether of celestiall irradiations, as yet externall not illuminating the soule, or of that naturall and internall light which men haue of heavenly powers and providence divine; we are not to seeke an originall of it altogether new or diverse from the originall of ignorance or vnbeliefe of particular revelations, but onely a more direct and fuller opposition of those earthly parts of the humane soule, whence these lesser defects are caused. After those *Jewes* (whose hypocritical shufflings with the Prophet *Jeremie* was in the former *Booke at large deciphered) had fully experienced all hopes of good, from their late elected Goddesse, *The Queene of Heaven*, to be as vaine as their Princes *trust in Egypt*: the next point whereat their floating imaginations could haue arrived, had beene to deny there were any God or Gods, at least any that cared for them or could doe them good. The truth of what we here suppose, as necessarily consequent to our former discussions, will better cleare it selfe in the issue of these; to wit, that Atheisme, Idolatry, Heresie, Hypocrisie, &c. spring all from one common roote, (*i.*) *Indulgence* to corrupt affection: onely the manner of their growth is different.

2. Some

*Vide Coppen
in Psal. 10.
7. 11. Col.
165.

* Justifying
faith. Secti-
on 1. cap. 11.

2. Some desires of the naturall man, though tainted with the deceiveable lusts of corruption, yet have no repugnancy with *naturall notions* of *divine goodnesse* indefinitely considered; onely they sway too much vnto secondary causes, best suiting with themselves, or aptest to satisfie their vntemperate longings; and as it were by popular factions, set vp these secondary causes or meanes as Gods, without consulting the Lawes of *Nature*; never demanding *reasons voice* or approbation. Some parts of the *old man* againe there be, which include onely a dissonancy to some particular passages of the rule of life, or partiall opposition to our naturall *notion* of God or his *attributes*, and these sway onely vnto hypocrisie, heresie, or transfiguration of the *divine will*, or *word*, into the similitude of our corrupt imaginations. Other lusts of the flesh there be, either for qualitie, multitude, strength, or abundance, so mainly opposite to the most essentiall and generall *notions* of the Godhead, that sometimes, by being directly crossed, other whiles by being fully satisfied, they introduce, either oblivion, or flat deniall of any divine power, or providence.

3. The *Attribute* most inseperable from the *divine nature*, and most *soveraigne title* of the Godhead is his *goodnesse*. The very names or literall elements of *God*, and *good*, are not in our Country dialect so neareallied, as the conceits which their mention or nomination suggests, are in nature. So necessarily doth *goodnesse* presuppose a *God* or *Deitie*, from which, as from a fountaine, it flowes; and so essentiall is it to this fountaine to send forth sweet streames of ioy and comfort, that the Heathen Philosopher, vpon the in-

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terview of good and evill, seemes to suffer torture betweene the contrarietie of his vnsettled conceipts concerning the truth or vanitie of the Godhead, *Si deus non sit unde bona? Can there be any good without a God? Si deus sit unde mala? If there be a God, how chanceth it, of things that are, all are not good, many evill?* Others, not altogether heathenish, from curiositie of like contemplation, not guided by the rule of faith, imagine two eternall ind. fectible creative powers; the one good, and sole fountaine of all goodnesse: the other evill, and maine source of all evill and mischief in the world. Of both these errors and the ignorance that occasioned them we shall have fitter occasion to speake hereafter. Both of them suppose a true notion of divine goodnesse indefinitely considered, wherevnto a conceipt or apprehension of divine providence, in most Heathen, was subordinate. *Many great and famous Philosophers there be (sayth Tully) which ascribe the government of the world vnto the wisdom of the Gods: not herewith content they further acknowledge all necessary supplies of health and welfare to be procured by their providence. For corne and other increase of the earth, varietie of times and seasons with those changes of the weather whereby such fruits as the earth brings forth doe grow and ripen, are, in the same mens opinions, effects of divine goodnesse to mankinde.* From the perpetuities of such visible blessings, as, these Heathen Philosophers deriue from the bountie of their imaginary Gods, doth the Doctor of the Gentiles and his fellow Apostle seeke to winne the Inhabitants of *Lystra* vnto the worship of the onely true invisible God. How readily, experience of vncouth goodnesse, brings forth an expresse conceipt

concept of a Godhead, and causeth the often mentioned *ingrafted notion* to bud or flourish; these Heathen had openly testified by their forwardnesse to sacrifice vnto these messengers of our Lord and Saviour, as vnto great *Gods*, because strange Authors or rather instruments of vncexpected good to one of their neighbours. This confused branch of pietie though milgrowne and set awry, was notwithstanding flexible and pliant to these poynts of life proposed by the Apostle; *"Sirs, why doe ye these things? we also are men of like passions with you, and preach vnto you that you should turne from these vanities, vnto the living God, which made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein, who in times past, suffered all Nations to walke in their owne wayes. Neverthelesse, he left not himselfe without witness, in that he did good, and gaue vs raine from heaven, and fruitfull seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladnesse. From this one streame of divine goodnesse, experienced in giving raine, did the Heathens Christen their great God Iupiter with a Name importing his procurement of this effect: the Greekes calling him *Ζευς*, the Latines *Pluvius*. So effectually a witnesse of the Godhead is the accomplishment of any much desired good, that such, as doubt whether the good we enioy on earth be derived from heaven, are often vnwittingly enforced to thinke and speake of whatsoever doth them any extraordinary good, or satisfie the vehemency of their desires, as of their God.*

Acts 14.
v. 15, 16, 17.

4. The more indissoluble the mutuall conceipts of *God* and *goodnesse* are, the sooner we loose the one, whiles we remaine without experience or apprehen-

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sion of the other. Two conditions of life there be alike hurtfull to this engrafted *notion* of the *Deitie*: 1. Affluence or abundance of things desired without interposall of indigence: 2. Perpetuall indigence or sordide want without vicissitude of ordinary competency or contentment. The latter vsually starues the naturall *notions* or conceipts of God, which must be fed with sense or taste of some goodnesse, the former [*affluence* or *abundance*] chokes it. Amongst all the *Barbarians* which * *Tacitus* mentioned in his description of *Germanie*, he blemisheth one sort onely with a glauncing touch of irreligion; as being so intirely and familiarly acquainted with beggarly need, that they needed not the helpe of God or Man, more than the beasts of the field. Yet that they were altogether *Atheists* or abettors of infidelitie, is scarce credible; but very likely that they gaue lesse signes of any Religion than others did, which had oftner and better occasions to supplicate the divine powers, either for protection from such evils, or for collation of such benefits, as these *Fenni* had little cause greatly either to feare or hope. Household Gods they had none, because they cared not for houses: Gods or Goddesses of Corne, of Wine, of Oyle, or the like, they never sought to, because never accustomed to sowe, to plant, or reape. But whether they vsed not to pray for good successe in their huntings, or in skirmishing with their rude neighbours, or amongst themselues,

* *Fenni* mira feritas, fæda paupertas, non arma, non equi, non penates: vitiis herba, vestitus pelles, cubile humus. Sola in sagittis spes, quas inopiâ ferri ossibus asperant. Idemq; venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim committuntur partemq; præda petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum, imbrumq; suffugium,

quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contendantur. Huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Id beatiis arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasq; fortunas spo meumq; versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus sit. Tacit. lib. de moribus German.

is more then can be determined from *Tacitus* censure, interlerted as it seemes rather to please the Reader, than seriously to impeach them of any greater crime or more loathsome discale, than vsually haunts men of their constitution or condition. As of the *mightie* and *noble*, so of those vile and despised creatures, which continue their circular and slouthfull range from house to house (liking best to liue (as these late mentioned *Barbarians* did) from hand to mouth,) not many there be which giue any iust prooffe of their *calling*. The *sense* of God and his *goodnesse* is in most of them stupid and dull, saue onely when hunger and thirst, or hope of an almes instantly craued by them in his name, and vsually granted by others for his sake, shall whet or quicken it. But as well in life spirituall as in corporall, fewer by much, (though to many) loose their stomackes through extreame penury or long fasting, then there be of such as spoile or dead their taste by continuall fulnesse. As, long or hard want doth sometimes sterue; so the perenniall current of wealth, of peace, or ease, with other outward blessings, doth vsually drowne all sense or *notion* of that goodnesse, whence these and all other good things flow. Did that part of the Moone which is next vs alwayes shine, we should haue lesse occasion to enquire, and greater difficulty to determine, whether the light it hath, were derived from the Sunne. Generally, such effects as admit interruption in their existence sooner lead vs vnto the true knowledge of their first and immediate causes, then if they enioyed permanent duration. A* body subiect to some vicissitude of sickness better discernes what causeth health, then he whose

* *Ista vices
magis in no-
bis excitant
sensum divi-
nae bonitatis,
quam cotinuuus
tenor felici-
tatis, qui
nos inebriat:
tunc enim bo-
na cognosci-
mus postquam
amissimus.
Praesentium
oritur tactus,
absentium ex-
citatur des-
iderium. Cop-
pen. in Psal.
136 vers.
23, 24.*

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health hath beene perpetuall. And this advantage he hath againe that though a disease, in it selfe equally grievous, doe assault him, yet is it lesse assisted by impatience: From former experience he is better enabled to see what did him hurt, and what is likely to doe him good, and as it were nurtured to expect a change.

5. The best dyet then to avoide this *morbus fatuus*, whose fits come vpon vs as well by *fulnesse* as by *vacuitie*, is that which *Salomon* hath prescribed. *Give me not povertie, nor riches: feed me with food convenient for me, lest I be full and deny thee and say, Who is the Lord? or least I be poore and steale, and take the name of my God in vaine**. Yet neither can mediocritie of fortunes without moderate desires, nor vicissitude of want, vnlesse the soule be inwardly purged, much availe. Our mindes may be much set on little matters, and our desires of others prosperitie (especially the flourishing estate of the Weale publike, wherein we liue a poore contented private life) may be too stiffe and peremptory. Now such is the blindnesse of our corrupted nature, such is our partialitie towards our owne desires (though of others welfare) as will hardly suffer vs to distinguish that which is absolutely good, from that which seemes best to vs, as for the present we stand affected. From these originals, mindes by nature or education in their kinde devout, but subiect withall to stiffe and settled desires of mutable and transitory good, being either divorced from delights, whereon they haue long doted, or frustrated of those hopes, for whose accomplishment they haue sollicitated diuine powers with great earnestnesse and importunity, are

* Prov. 30.
ver. 8, 9.

are most obnoxious to such impussions as throw men into Atheisme and irreligion. These diseases were scarce knowne or heard of amongst the *Romanes*, so long as their state after recovery from many crazes and sore wounds received daily increase, by meanes (which in their observation might haue chalenged greatest praise for their prudent care of publike good) more then humane, but after it once (contrary to all politicke expectation) began to reele and totter, and threaten ruine to the best pillars it had left to support it; these and the like querulous mutterings began to assay her most ingenuous and deuoutest children;

*Hæu faciles dare summa Deos, eademq; tueri
Difficiles!*

Lucanus.

*Ah facile Gods to reare vp states to greatest height,
But most averse to keepe them so vprear'd, upright!*

But much worse then these (it seemes by *Cottaes* complaint) were more frequent in corrupt mindes a little before. *If the gods (saith he) haue a care of man-
" kinde, they should in reason make all men good; or if not
" so: at least, tender the hap and welfare of such as are good
" indeed. Why then were the two noble valorous and victo-
" rious Scipioes oppressed in Spaine by the perfidious Car-
" thaginians? A great number of worthy Patriots he
" there reckons besides; all, either exiled or slaine by
" their turbulent and factious enemies, or (which
" was worse than death to a Roman spirit) beholden
" to tyrants for their liues and fortunes. Another
" Poet not long after the vttering of this complaint,*
" (per-

Section. 1.

" (perhaps moved thereto by the indignitie of *Tul-*
 " *lies* vntimely death,) ingenuously acknowledgeth
 " the like distrust of diuine providence in himselte, as
 " *Tully* had vented vnder the person of *Cotta* :

* Ouid.

* *Dum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso,
 Sollicitor nulles esse putare Deos.*

*What oft I thinke, once let me say,
 Whilst bad Fates take best men away;
 I am provok'd Gods to disclaime,
 For Gods should giue death better aime.*

The like cogitations did worke more desperately in such as had beene more deeply interested in *Pompey's* faction, after they saw so many noble Senators (worthie in their iudgement, to haue beene honoured like gods, after death) deprived of all funerall rites and exequies; whilst the dead reliques of meere *carcasses*, whilst they lived, of parasiticall mecanicks, or devoted instruments of tyrannicall lust, were graced with Princely Monuments. The very sight of these, did by a kinde of *Antiperistasis* revive and sublimate the former offences taken against their gods, for the indignities done vnto their Nobles:

*Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato paruo,
 Pompeius nullo: Quis putet esse Deos?*

*Base Licinus hath a pompous Tombe,
 of gaudie marble stone:
 Wise Cato but a foolish one,
 the mightie Pompey none.*

Yet

Yet all this while we dreame of Gods,
and dreame we doe I wis:

For Gods are none; or if there be,
how can they suffer this?

6. That vengeance belonged vnto God was another branch of the generall notion ingraft by nature in the hearts of Heathen. And if he did not shew himselfe an awfull judge and avenger of prodigious cruelties, which ordinary lawes could not redresse, this neglect of dutie (as they tooke it) made them bolder with *Iupiter* himselfe, than the poore woman was with the Emperour, that askt him, * *Why then dost thou raigne if thou be not at leasure to heare my cause.* They questioned whether *Iupiter* reigned indeed or were but a name without authority, vnlesse he gaue instant prooffe of his powrefull wrath or displeasure, against such as displeasd them most. *Idem erat non esse & non apparere.* A perfect Character of this passion hath the sweet *Tragedian* exprest in *Vlysses*, led into the *Cyclops* den as a sheepe vnto the shambles. After his orisons to his soveraigne Lady *Pallas*, he thus concludes with *Iupiter* *Hospitalies* himselfe:

* *Mentimur regnare Iovem, Lucan.*

Ζεῦ, ξένι ὄρα τὰδ', εἰ γὰρ αὐτὰ μὴ βλέπεις,
ἄλλως νομίζῃ Ζεῦ, τὸ μηδὲν ὦν βίος. &c.

Enrip: Cyclops.

O Ioue: no Ioue nor strangers God in true esteeme:
Vnlesse my woefull case thou see, and me redeeme.

7. The *Psalmists* complaint is much more moderate, yet such as argues his faith to haue beene assaulted,

Sect. 10. 1.

^a Psal. 44.

v. 22. &c.

^b Psal. 94.

v. 1.

ted, though not quaild with like distrust; ^a For thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheepe for the slaughter. Awake, why sleepest thou O Lord, arise cast vs not off for ever. Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest our affliction and our oppression. For our soule is bowed downe to the dust, our belly cleaveth vnto the earth. Arise for our helpe, and redeeme vs for thy mercies sake. ^b O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, O God to whom vengeance belongeth shew thy selfe. Pettish desires of private hopes contrived with greatest policie; and solicited with all possible care and industry, finally crost, brought many Heathens (as yet they doe sundry Christians) vnto a point of Atheisme somewhat short of the former, yet as dangerous for any professed Disciple of Christ to harbour at; vsually discovered in bitter exclamations against fates, ill lucke, or fortune. But many discontented speeches in both kindes, proceed oftentimes from the heat and impulsion of present passion; whose frequent interposition often caused all former apprehensions of the divine providence or goodnesse, to vanish, as vnevennesse of ground makes travellers loose the sight of steeples or turrets, which they lately beheld. But as these present themselves againe vnto their view, as soone as they ascend, vnto the former levell; so is it likely many of these querulous *Romanes*, did resume their wonted perswasions of divine powers, and their favour towardes mankind; after their turbulent thoughts begun to settle, and their disquietted minds recover their naturall seate or station. Others more blinded by obstinacy, did finally mistrust all former apprehensions (being neither cleare nor perfectly observed)

served) for meere fancies; as weake or dimme sights, vsually suspect, whether they truly did see such things as in farre distances appeared by short and sudden glymes, or their eyes did but dazle.

8. But all in this place we intended, was to search out the originall, if not of all, yet of some more principall branches of habituate, and obdurate Atheisme: vnto which search, this obseruation of indulgence to violent passions, or pettishnesse of hopefull desires not satisfied, was thus far pertinent; that these do settle men, otherwise by nature, and education not irreligious, in the very dregs of these impieties. Nor is man, as was lately intimated, like vnto inanimate creatures, whose naturall disposition, or inclination cannot be preiudiced by custome. Stones though they be moved a thousand times one way, their aptitude notwithstanding vnto such motion is no way greater in the last course, then in the first. Farre otherwise it is with man, who as he hath naturall apprehensions of goodnesse, so hath he inclinations vnto euill no lesse imbred, or naturall; the strength of whose bent to burst out into all vngodlinesse is alwayes increased by their actual motions, vnlesse reason exercise her authoritie over them, either by subtracting their incernall nutriment, or by preventing outward occasions which provoke them, or by taking them at best advantage (when they haue spent themselves) in the retire. Not thus prevented or controuled in time, the habits which naturally result from frequentie of their outrage, may come to be no lesse stiffe than they are violent. The manner how these fits of passion grow into such grievous rooted diseases, is, as if we should

Sectio. 1.

should imagine a stone by often mooving downwards, every time to retaine some one, or few, vntill it had at length *incorporated* all those *degrees* of *gravitation*, which naturally accrew in the motion, into its permanent weight: so as laid in a iust ballance the settled sway of it should be as great, as the actuall force of its wonted descent; perpetually able to counterpoise as heaui, and masse a body, as the fall of it from an high tower (supposing it had fallen into the opposite scale) could haue stirred or elevated. Of all passions, such as worke inwardly are most dangerous; because their growth is insensible, and vnobservable. Such are fretting iealousies, ambitious discontents, eagernes of revenge, or other desires overmatched with *impotencie* of effecting them. Generally all grieuances, which haue no vent; without which humane affections, like to liquors kept in close vessels, or nipt glasses secretly multiply their naturall strength.

Strangulat inclusus dolor, atq; exaestuat intus:

Cogitur & vires multiplicare suas.

As all passions obscure the vnderstanding for the present: so the settling of them into habits brings a perpetuall blindnesse vpon the soule, alwayes breeding either obdurate Atheisme, pernicious Heresie, or Idolatrie.

CHAPTER V.

Of habituated or settled Atheisme. Why this disease was not so Epidemicall in ancient as in latter times. Of the disposition or temper from which irreligion or incogitance of divine powers (which is the first and lowest branch of Atheisme) vsually springs.

I. **T**HE Pharisee, though for his conversation and civill carriage precise and strict in respect of most his ancestors, did yet exceed them farther in hardnesse of heart, than he came short of them in outrageousnesse of passion. The sight of our Saviours miracles, and experience of his good life, would (I am perswaded) sooner haue wonne the most Idolatrous, or boisterous of his forefathers; than him or his sober associates vnto true beliefe. From consideration of this his temper, besides other inducements, I haue elsewhere observed, people auncient (whether in respect of the generall course of the world, or of succession in severall kingdomes) to haue beene vsually more rash, and impetuous in their attempts, but not so settled in resolutions, which were impious, as their successors in time are, and haue beene. The bent of their nature did sway a larger compasse, and (to vse the Mathematicians dialect) described a greater circle by it actual motions. Hence were they more easily drawne by the peculiar inticements of those times to greater outrages, than men of their ranke commonly by ordinary temptations now are. Howbeit for the same reason

Section. 1. reason they were more quickly reclaimed by such corrections, as move not our mindes once set a-misse.

2. And this in part may be the reason why Atheisme was not so habituated, nor the deniall, or doubt of divine providence so stiffe in them, as in the irreligious of our dayes. Consonant hereto are the causes before assigned of posterities mistrusting the reports of antiquitie; vnto which we may adde this observation, not altogether the same with them, nor quite different: The visible characters of this great booke of nature were of old more legible; the externall significations of divine power more sensible, and apter to imprint their meaning: both purposely suited to the disposition of the worlds non-age, which for secular cunning, or artificiall observation was for the most part rude and childish in respect of those times, and Countries, wherein Atheisme through mans curiositie came to full height and growth.

3. Those Marriners with whom *Ionas* sayled, in calling every man vnto his God, and rousing their sleepe passenger to ioyne in prayer with them, did no more, then many of their profession in this age vpon like exigences doe. A raging sea will cause the naturall notions of God and goodnesse to worke in such as haue taken little or no notice of them by land; as one vpon this experiment wittily descants: *Qui nescit orare, discat navigare.* But few of our time would trouble themselves in such perplexitie, with searching out the causes of sudden stormes, or if they did, the causes ordinarily assigned by the experimental Weather-wizard, or naturall Philosopher, would

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of Divine powers or providence than moderne are.

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Cap. 5.

content them. Fewer I thinke would make enquiry for whose speciall sinne their common prayers for deliverance were not heard; seeing God daily accustomed vs to like repulses in particular dangers: the oftner no doubt, because we examine not our hearts with like diligence in like extremities, nor powre forth our soules with such fervency, as these Marriners did. Their resolution to find out the author of their ill successe, as Iosuah did Achan, by lot, perswades me the observations of grace, and nature did not then iarre so much, as now they doe; They, saith the Psalmist, that goe downe to the Sea in ships; that doe businesse in great waters; These see the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe: for he commandeth and raiseth the stormy winde: which lifteth up the waues thereof: They mount up to the heaven: and they goe downe againe to the depths: their soule is melted because of trouble. They reele to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man; and are at their wits end. Then they crie vnto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the storme a calme: so that the waues thereof are still. The like good lessons had beene communicated, at least to the wiser and more sober sort of Heathens, (such as these Marriners were) by the remarkable experiments of those times. And their arrivall at their desired haven was attributed not to their Pilots skill, or good structure of their ships, but to the mercie of their gods, as the Psalmist having so good matter to worke vpon as these, and the like knowne experiments in that Psalmie aboue others, reiterates his patheticall invitations to ioy and sacred thanksgiving. Oh that men would prayse the Lord for his goodnesse: and

Psal. 107.
23, 24. &c.

Ver. 31, 32.

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for

Sectio. i.

for his wonderfull workes to the children of men. Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and prayse him in the assembly of the Elders.

4. Or if the parties, whose reformation I seeke, distrust this story of these Heathen Marriners devotion, and the issue; because not related by any Heathenish writers; *Xenophons* observation shall iustifie mine, he thought it no disparagement to the valour, but rather an argument of that noble Generals wisdom, whom he had chosen as a reall patterne for posterities imitation, that he had fruitfully improved those experiments of religious navigators favour with God, and good successe vnto the discipline of Warre. *Cyrus* (saith this *Historian*) made account the religion, and pietie of his souldiers would be profitable vnto him, herein following their resolution, who upon good reason choose rather to sayle with men knowne to be religious, than with such as are suspected to haue committed some impietie^b. The manifold deliverances of sea-faring men (more devout than skillfull in approach of danger) publikely testified by their solempne thanksgiving, and pictures consecrated to the memory of such mer-
 cies as they had found, did furnish another Heathen with arguments to evince the providence of diuine powers, and their flexible eares vnto vnfeined prayers; The quicke replie of his adversary, *More haue perished that haue not beene painted*, whether vttered by way of disputation, in iest, or out of former resolution, or good earnest, was not so wittie, as sophisticall. For, that the supplications of as many, which had perished and were nowhere painted, were not heard; this rather produces their demerits had made them vncapable

^a So vnder correction I haue good reason to esteeme him, albeit *Tullie* as meere a child in *Estimate* antiquities as mature in *Romane* Oratory, otherwise censure him.

^b *Cyrus ipse religiosam suorum pietatem sibi quoq; vtilem ducebat esse, quum rationem eandem sequeretur, quam illi, qui certo iudicio cum religiosis potius, quam cum iis, qui designasse aliquid impie videntur, nauigare maluit.* *Xenoph. de Instit. Cyri. lib. 8.*

ble of that favour which others found, then any way disproueth the former conclusion, that these were favoured by divine providence. Nor can the miscarriage of ten thousands preiudice the truth of ones confession, whose escape could not be attributed to his skill, or the working of second causes, but vnto some latent disposer of their combinations; which did appoint the limits, times, and opportunities of their working or ceasing. And this divine disposall was more conspicuous when the interposition of mans industrie, or inventions for his owne good, was lesse; God then supplied the defect of artificiall cunning in every kinde by such eminent and outstretched branches of his providence, as we see yet overshadow children and men scarce masters of themselves, whom danger often approacheth but ceazeth not on them, though most enable to make resistance.

Vide Coppens
in Psal. 10.
v. 14. Col.
169.

5. But after the world was growne ripe in iudgement and experimentall inventions, the Lord did alter those legible and conspicuous characters of the common booke of nature fitted for the vse of children, or *elementary* schollers, and set forth a newer and perfecter edition of his sacred will, but in letters lesse legible to beginners. Now, as his written word revealed (in the Gospell especially) containes a farre more exquisite modell of his incomprehensible wisdom, than in former ages had beene manifested; so doth it requite more mature, more diligent, and observant readers: otherwise as many weake braines, by light or confused tempering with artificiall termes, which they are not able to master or digest, vtterly poyson common *sense*; so we by negligent, irreverent

Sectio. i.

or carelesse hearing, reading, or meditating on these great mysteries of the spirit, shall quite extinguish that generall light of nature which did shine vnto the heathen; and by disvse forget to reade the booke of Gods visible creatures. Such notwithstanding is the preposterousnesse of humane choise, whereto the old serpent still enticeth vs, that although it be the first rudiment of Christian Religion to renounce that worldly carefulnesse wherewith the mindes of best Heathens were overgrowne: yet no age or people since the world began, did wilfully trouble themselves with more matters or more impertinent to the maine point whereat all aime, then we Christians of these times doe. What would the Heathens say that should compare our practise with our principles? *surely those Christians seeke to imprison their soules in those thickets, wherein man as their writings teach, first lost all sight of heaven, of God, and goodnesse.* Or if Gods word did not; the different faces of times, and characters of men that lived in them, set forth vnto vs by Heathen writers, may enforme vs that Atheisme and irreligion had never growne to such maturitie as to propagate their seed vnto posteritie, but from those two principall rootes. First, the intricate perplexities & vncessant cares wherewith the mannaging of most humane affaires was daily more and more invol'd, through multiplicite of inventions and solicitous inquisition after worldly meanes supposed as necessary for every man to make himselfe by, or in one kinde or other to outstrip his neighbour: the second, an intemperate affectation of perfection in arts or sciences, vnto which once invented or enlarged men attribute

but more then was befitting and more to themselves than was their due for inventing and enlarging them. In both they robbe God of much honour, willingly ascribed vnto him by the auncient, who still acknowledged the first principles of those arts (in whose propagation posterity gloried, as if themselves had beene petty gods) to haue proceeded from the diuine powers. Η τῶν τέχνη, *Fortune befriendeth Art*, was but the solecisme of degenerate ages; such rules as the auncients light vpon by chance, they knew not how, did so naturally imprint a feeling of the finger of God thus guiding their thoughts, that they instantly sacrificed, not to their owne wits; but to the vknowne suggestors of these inuentionis, which in the first teachers of arts or experiments were indeed true revelations; what latter ages called fortune or blind chance, primary antiquitie inslaid God; and ages much declining from ancient innocency and devotion tooke blind chance or fortune for a Goddesse.

6. The branch which issues from the former roor, is in respect of true beliefe of the Godhead rather defective than contradictory, and resembles that defect or want which in Arts we terme *Ignorantiam purae negationis*; as the other positive contradicting, or malignant Atheisme, doth, *Ignorantiam praua dispositionis*. Vnto the imputations of this Atheisme, which consists in mere carelesnesse, and incogitancy, many are easily liable, which never perhaps so much as in their secret thoughts expressly deny the Godhead, or diuine providence; but rather haue some surmise of their existence. But this blossome comes to no prooffe, because it springs not from the internal malignity ingrafted

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fed by nature in their hearts (whose growth the cares of life doe quickly choake) but is acquiꝛd by custome, vnwitting assent, or consonancy to others asseverations with whom they converse. This customary beleeve, or carefull worldlings carelesse temper in matters spirituall, is like to a man in a dead sleepe, or so drowlie that he apprehends no impression of any phantasmes, yet can answer yes or no to any that vr- ges him with a question. Briefly the ymoost degree of beleeve that men thus buried in cares of this world have of the Deitie, is no better than such idle perswa- sions of loue to Christ and Christianity, as haue beene obserued in the former booke. The onely ground of it in many, did they well obserue it, is their vnwillig- nesse to be accounted what indeed they are, meere A- theists, a title displeasing to such as live amongst pro- fessed Christians. To charge a man, though on a sud- daine with matters distastfull, will extort a perempto- ry deniall of that whereco he had formerly beene al- together indifferent, as knowing nothing either for it or against it. As what souldier is there of better spirit which hearing his Countrey men vpbayded with cowardize, or his Countrey blemished with tre- cherous base infamous dealing, would not vndertake to make good the contrary with his body against the obiecter; albeit altogether ignorant, what domesticke and forreigne vnpartiall Chronicles had testified to his preiudice concerning the carriage of the impea- ched proceedings. The more peremptory the one were in avouching, the more confident the other would be in disclaiming the crime objected. But should a practical head skilfull in humoring such an
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hot braine, strike it with them aright, and by way of sociable and friendly conference, insinuate plausible reasons to misperswade him of his Countrey-mens deserved prayse; (which in generall, to beleeue he had better positive reasons than to deny the former particular imputations) a lesser matter than losse of good fellowship would make him willing to let all controversie fall, or put it off with a iest. Should we thus resolutely charge the most *groveling minded earth-worme* this day breathing, with open shame for never looking vp to heaven, for living without a God in this present world; we might perhaps provoke him to pollute his first positive and serious thoughts of his creator with false and fearefull oathes in his name, that he had thought on him, that he feared and loved him ever before, as much as others. But with greater cunning than can be matched with any skill of man can the old serpent insinuate himselfe into our most secret thoughts, and covertly fortifie our inclinations toward such baits as he hath laide, alwayes watching opportunities of pushing them, whether he sees them most inclined for his advantage. Finally, by this sleight he workes the wisest of worldly men to confesse that to him, ere they be aware, with their hearts; which with their lips they would deny before men, even vnto death, whiles vrged with it vnder the stile of disgrace. Or if he cannot thus farre worke them; he puts fayre colours of discretion vpon indifferency for positive resolutions, whether there be a God or no, or whether it goeth better with him that serveth, or with him that serves him not.

7. And albeit either the strength of intended argument,

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ment, or casuall occurrents of some strange mishaps befalling others by meanes more than humane, may often rowle some actuall and expresse acknowledgement of a divine providence in this worldling: yet these imaginations comming once to opposition with his stiffe desires, or being counterpoised with fresh proposals of Satans riddles, or instantly dispelled as vterly as if they had never beene conceived. His beliefe then of this first Article in the Creed is at the best no better than his was of the soules immortallitie, which held it as true so long as *Platoes* booke of this argument was in his hand, but let the truth slip out of his minde as soone as he laid the booke aside, or had not the Philosophers reasons in his eye; what shall we thinke of him then as of an Atheist, or as a true beleever? No man holdeth it any point of wisdom to attribute much vnto a misers oath in matters of gaine, yet he that is ready to sweare falsely by his God, doth in this taking loose his former beliefe of him, if any he had. For periury is the naturall broode of Atheisme, sometime best knowne by the parents name, though now it hath changed his coat, and covered it selfe with protestations of Christianitie, renouncing nature with the tongue, as it doth the Deitie in the heart. *Iuvenall* condemnes a generation of Naturalists in his time as more Atheisticall and periurous than *Rome* formerly had knowne:

Iuvenal.
Satyr. 13.

*Sunt qui in fortuna iam casibus omnia ponunt,
Et mundum nullo credunt rectore moveri;
Naturâ volvente vices & lucis & anni,
Atq; ideo intrepidi quaecunq; altaria iurant,*

Some

*Some now there be, that deeme the world by slipperie
(Chaunce doth slide,
That dayes and yeares doe runne their round,
(without or rule or guide,
Since Nature and dame Fortunes Wheele:
(and hence since shame or feare
Of God or Man, by Altars all they desperately doe
(swear.*

8. This carelesse Neutralist holdeth the same correspondency betweene the true Christian and the Heathenish Idolater or Infidell, that Mungrels doe with the diverse Countreys betweene whose wast borders they haue beene so promiscuously brought vp, that no man knowes to whether people they belong, vsually traffiking with both without profession of absolute alleigance or personall service to either, saue onely as private occasions or opportunities shall induce them. The contradicting Atheists are as halfe Antipodes to the Neutralist, and full Antipodes to true Christians. Their seate is darkenesse alwayes destitute of the Sunne, seldome partaker of any twilight. To impell the one sort as farre from truth as may be, and the other no farther than the mid way betweene it, and the most opposite error, is alike behouefull to Satans purpose: a great part of whose chiefe cunning is to suite his temptations to mens severall dispositions. Now some men there be of heavier metall, who as they haue mindes perpetually touched with hopes of gaine; so their gaine is not gotten by gluts or heapes, but receiues a slow and constant increase by continuall cares and paines. These
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Section. I. if he can but bring to this kind of incogitant Atheisme, or dull ignorance of God and his goodnesse, he hath as much as he desires of them. Those whom he labours to malignant or disputing Atheisme, haue usually such nimble wits, and resolutions (vntill they settle vpon their lees) so ticklish; that did he suffer them to hover a while betwixt light and darkenesse, they would quickly turne vpon that leuell whence the right aspect of heaven and heavenly powers is taken. But, lest having this libertie of trying all, they should come to fasten on that which is best; His pollicie is to cast them so farre, one wrong way or other in youth, that either they shall haue no thought or inclination to retire in mature age, or no strength left when they grow old to recover the miscarriages of fresh and lively motions. To sway themselves that way which nature first enclined them, or grace doth call them, is not easie to be attempted, almost impossible to be effected by men that haue beene long fettered in some linke of social lust or other filthinesse; by men whose mindes haue beene perpetually enwrapt in the curiosities of their proud imaginations. Those are the two speciall snares whereby Gods enemy detaines stirring spirits in the dregs of contradicting Atheisme. But the men of whom we now speake such as haue wedded their soules to the earth, & count toyling and moyling in gainefull businesse greatest pleasures, are (as the tempter knowes) of a cleane contrary constitution; apt they are not to moue many wayes, either vpward or downeward, but onely to waggle to and fro within a narrow compasse: without whose lifts should he tempt them to outray much
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in any notorious dissolutenesse, outrageous villany or open blasphemy; the vncouthnesse of their distemper procured by these vnnaturall motions, might happily admonish them in good time to seeke a medicine. The onely meanes he hath herein to prevent them is continually to feede this their deadly disease so kindly and gently as it shall never bewray any danger, vntill they be past all possibilitie of recovery. They goe to Hell as in a lethargie or deepe slumber. Much what to this purpose it is in other parts of these comments observed, that the equable morall temper, which neuer alters much from it selfe, is most obnoxious to finall miserie; because seldome so fiercely assaulted by the enemy as to occasion any extraordinary terror of conscience. And it is the lesse assaulted, because it seldome or lightly rebels against him. Now men neuer much affrighted with the danger wherein all by nature stand, nor enflamed with love of a better Country than they enjoy, cannot adresse themselves to any resolute or speedy departure out of the territories of civill moralities, within which if Satan hold vs, he makes full reckoning of vs as of his civill or naturall subjects; and this, as *S. Gregorie* obserues, is the reason why many are not molested by him.

* Hostis nos
scit quanto
magis nos si-
bi rebellare
conspicit, tan-
to amplius
expugnare
contendit;
eos enim pul-
sare negligit,
quos quieto
iure se possi-
dere sentit.
Gregor. Ho-
mil.

Sectio. I.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Disputative Atheisme; deniall of the God-head, or divine providence; with the severall curiosities which occasion it.

I. orraigne supportance is seldome re-
 iected by deserved fame, and men of
 no deserts alwayes seeke to vnder-
 prop their ruinous reputation or
 groundlesse prayse; some by the
 place which they hold, or by the societie wherein
 they live; others by their auncestors, birth, or educa-
 tion; many, by the subiect of their thoughts, or wor-
 thinnesse of matters which they vnworthily handle.
 To professe noble sciences, or (at the most) to have
 taken degree in any, is ground enough for some men
 to raise themselves farre above such, as but yesterday
 were their full equalls; or to stand vpon tearmes of
 comparison with the best. And few there be of their
 owne Coate, that would not willingly yeeld to them
 what thus they challenge as their due, would they
 shew themselves either able or willing to repay that
 credit and estimation to the common profession,
 which like bankrouts or decayed Marchants, they are
 enforced either to borrow or beg from it as from the
 publicke stocke. For all of vs are glad to see our owne
 profession grac't or exalted; the rather, because we
 hold it not safe to haue our heights measured onely
 by our personall stature, vnlesse withall we take in, the
 advantage of the ground whereon we stand.

2. A second maine stem of habituated Atheisme arose (as was lately intimated) from this partiall desire in professors, to establish the soveraigntie of those arts or faculties wherein they were best teene or most delighted. And the best meanes for advancing or establishing their soveraigntie, was, to extend the limits of their wonted authoritie by reducing all or most effects to their principles; as great Lawyers strive to bring most causes to those Courts, wherein their practice or authoritie is greatest. Another principall veine, serving to feed the disease whereto this partiall and intemperate appetite of curious artists ministred first matter, wee may (if we mistake not) fitly deriue from a generall aptitude of the humane soule, to take impression from those objects with which it is most familiar; and to iudge of others by their correspondency with these. Hence as sollicitors seeking after meanes conducible to any end, vsually intercepts our desires or intentions of the end it selfe, for whose sake onely the meanes in reason were to be sought: so doth the curious speculation of creatures visible divert the minds of many from the invisible creator vnto whom the sight of these by nature not misleued by inordinate or vnwildy appetites would direct all. And our generall facility to beleue with speed what we much affect or strongly desire, brings forth peculiar pronesses in the professors of severall arts to frame vniversall rules (whether negative or affirmatiue) from broken and imperfect inductions. Now the power and wisdom of God being especially manifested in the workes of creation, in the disposition of things created, and in matters manageable by humane wit or

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Section. I. consultation; Satan by his sophistical skill to worke vpon the pride of mans hart, hath erected three maine pillars of Atheisme or irreligion, as so many counterforts to oppugne our beliete or acknowledgement of the diuine providence, in the three subiects mentioned. Many naturall Philosophers out of a partiall desire to magnifie their owne facultie, observing none brought forth without a mother, nothing generated, without pre-existent seede or matter, forthwith conclude the course of things naturall which we daily see to haue beene the same from everlasting; that generation had no beginning, that corruption can haue no ending. The imperfection of this induction, and the over-reaching inference which some in this kind haue fram'd from a *Maxime* most true in a sense most impertinent; [*Ex nihilo nihil fit*] falls in our way againe in the Article of creation. The Astronomer likewise finding the influence of starres by experience to haue great force in this inferior world, seekes to extend their dominion ouer humane actions or consultations; as if all matters of state or private life were by their conuenticles or coniunctions authentickly pre-determin'd without possibilitie of repeale. And thus as the Moone eclipseth the Sunne, or lower Planets sometimes hide the higher, so haue the *Sunne*, the *Moone* and Host of heaven excluded his sight from approaching vnto the *Father of lights*. Or if through them he can discerne the truth of his existence, or see some glimpses of his generall attributes: yet the eyes of his minde are so dazeled with contemplation of their effects, that as the *Sunne*-beames put on the hue of coloured glasses, through which they shine: so doth the

the sweete disposition of divine providence appeare to him in the similitude of stoicall fate or star gasing coniectures. The politician againe noting many which professe their stedfast relying vpon Gods providence either often to misse of what they haue sought, or never attaining to that whereto he thinkes they should in reason and by example of the whole world aspire, straight way collects, The world hath no oeconomickall guide or over-seer, but that every man may be his own carver of good hap or fortunes. And seeing all things (as he imagineth) revolve by vncertaine chance; to appropriate some part of blind fortunes store vnto themselves, to such as haue wit to watch their opportunities, will be as easie as for a theefe to catch a prey in a tumult, or for souldiers to rife vnguarded villages, or houses which no man lookes vnto. This kinde of Atheisme often participates with the two former. For such events as manifest the power of God, the politicke Atheist vsually ascribes to fortune, fate, or nature: such as rightly observed set forth his wisdom, he reducerh them to the mysteries of his owne act. These errors incident to the Astronomer and Politician with the false inductions to perswade them, shall by Gods assistance be rectified in the Article of *divine providence*.

3 Many not overswayed by affection to any peculiar faculty whereto they were aboue others engaged, became most fooles of all by curious prying into others folly. By no other meanes were *Protagoras*, *Diagoras* (and perchance the crue of Epicures) brought, either to deny there was any divine power at all, or els to thinke it so vncertaine, as men should not trouble
their

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their wits about it, than by contemplating the multitude of errors concerning the Gods or vanitie of heathen men amongst whom they lived; many holding opinions about the Deitie so divers, that some must needs be false; and the best (to an observant speculator) but ridiculous. The great dissention (saith *Tully*) amongst the learned in such importancies enforceth such as thinke they haue attained to some certaintie in this point to reele and stagger. *Tullie. I. lib: de natur. Deorum.* From the same infirmie of Nature many Christians this day living, are flexible to a branch of Atheisme very dangerous and much laboured by Iesuiticall disputes, all addressed to evince this vniversal negative [*there can be no certaintie of private perswasions about the truth or true sense of Scriptures*] by representing the varietie of auncient heresies or differences amongst moderne professors. The Iesuites propension to this perswasion is but a relique of the abouementioned Heathen *Romanes* disposition, more apt perchance to be impelled vnto absolute Atheisme, by how much the multitude of their false Gods had beene increased. For having long sought (as it were in policie) to winne the gods of every Nation they knew vnto their faction; and amongst all, finding none able to support their reeling state, or prevent the working mischiefes of civill discord; they first began generally to suspect there were no gods, or all Religion to be vaine. But the manifestation of the *sonne* of God and daily increase of true Religion, quickly revived the dead *notion* of divine powers in these Heathens, and enforced them to adhere to their wonted Gods, in hope the *truth* revealed (which was to evill
doers

doers very offensive) might by their helpe quickly be extinguished. Nor did they want the broken inductions of Antiquaries or Philosophers to worke a prejudice, or disesteeme of Christian faith. The Christians, sayth *Celsus*, which adore a person comprehended and put to death, do but as the barbarous *Getes* which worship *Zamolxis*, or as the *Cilicians* doe *Mopsus*, the *Achernanians* *Amphilocheus*, the *Thebanes* *Amphiaraus*, and the *Lebadij* *Triphonius*. It was to him no doubt a point of wisdom and matter of glory to be so well scene in forraigne Antiquities, as not to belecue the new fangled devices of rude and illeterate *Galileans*.

4. Had not Chronologers noted a greater distance of time betweene them, than any one mans age (since the Flood at least) could fill vp; I should haue thought *Rabsakeh* had spit *Celsus* out of his mouth. No sonne can be more like to his father, than the ones irreligious induction against the sonne of God is to the others Atheisticall collections for infringing the omnipotencie of God the Father. Obey not *Ezechiah* (sayth *Rabsakeh* to the besieged Inhabitants of *Ierusalem*.) when he deceiveth you, saying the Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the King of *Affyria*? Where are the gods of *Hamath* and of *Arpad*? Where are the gods of *Sepharuaim*, *Henah* and *Iuah*? haue they delivered *Samaria* out of my hand? Who are they among all the gods of the Countries that haue delivered their Country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver *Ierusalem* out of mine hand? This was a common place so plausible in those times, that the proud *Affyrians* tooke the vniversality of
E their

* Posthac
Celsus opinatur nos qui
comprehensum
damnatumque
supplicio colimus, idem
facere quod
Getes qui
Zamolchem
venerantur,
& Cilicas
qui Mopsum,
& Arcanias
qui Amphilochem, et
Thebanos
qui Amphiaraum & Le-
badenses qui
Triphonium:
quos omnes
inmerito nobiscum con-
ferri declarabimus &c.
Origen. contra Celsum,
lib. 3.

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2 King. 19.
10, 11, 12.

their prosperous successe as a sure note that the true Church, if any there were, was amongst them; that *Ezechiah* and his subiects were but rebellious schismatickes, and their pretended piety but stubborne folly or hypocrisie. And *Zenacharib* himselfe when he sent the second embassage to *Ezechiah*, hath no better argument to impeach the omnipotent power whereon he trusted, than the former induction stult onely with some few more examples of fresh memory. Thus shall ye speake to *Ezechiah* King of *Iudah*, saying; *Let not thy god in whom thou trustest deceiue thee, saying, Ierusalem shall not be delivered into the hand of the King of Assyria, behold thou hast heard what the Kings of Assyria haue done to all lands by destroying them utterly, and shalt thou be delivered? Haue the gods of the nations delivered them whom my Father hath destroyed, as Gozan and Haran and Rezeph and the children of Eden which were in Thelassar? Where is the King of Hamath, &c.* In like manner when the old fornicator in the comedy had abused the notion of Gods providence in disposing of Lots, to fortifie his hopes of good lucke in an euill cause: not the *Hypothesis* onely but the *Thesis* it selfe or generall Maxime, which *Salomon* had left registred in fitter termes, [*The lot is cast into the lap, but the disposition thereof is the Lords*] is disproved by his officious flauie from the multitude of experiences of men, whose confident reliance on their gods had beene defeated:

* *Plautus*
in Casina.
Act. 2.
scen. 5.

* *Quid si sors aliter, quam votes, euenerit.*

Benedice, dis sum fretus, deos superabimus.

Abode

*Abode well, and haue well, on the Gods I am
(bold,
They fauour such as trust them, I Ken them of
(old, saith the Master.*

*Non ego istuc verbum emsitim tibi vilitio,
Nam omnes mortales Deis sunt freti: sed tamen
vidi ego dis fretos saepe multos decipi.*

*Tush that's a saw, which with wast thrummes I would
(not buy,
Not one there is that cannot thus on th' Gods
(rely,
Yet such I haue knowne full mightily deceiu'd perdy.*

5. This kinde of Argument Satan knowes to be most forcible in all ages for working Atheisme or Infidelitie in such as detest nothing more than to be held silly or credulous. To this purpose in former ages he hath had his false wonders to discredit all reports of true miracles: and in these latter hath wrought many otherwise famous for no good qualities, to counterfeit possessions by vncleane spirits, that men out of their observation of such gulleries, or distaste of those impostors persons, might begin to suspect the Evangelicall story of imposture. To some degree or other of like impious resolutions, doth the naturall pride of heart, or strength of inordinate desires, sollicite most men of better parts or place. Confident wits ioyning with curiositie of diving into secrets of what kinde soever, not able to finde what they haue long sought, are easily drawne to beleeue it is no

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where to be found ; for who should sooner finde it then they ? In this coniunction of the former *propension* to over-reach our selues in gathering the product of delightfull inductions, and of this *iealousie*, lest others by Gods graces might excell our naturall parts, fall out many tearefull eclipses ; which though they vitterly obscure not the whole glory of the Godhead, yet they often bercaue vs of the illumination of his providence, or influence of graces ; suspected by many in heate of emulation and opposition, to be but fancies. As what man almost is there that hath overtopped others by height of place, which will acknowledge any of his inferiors (though never liable to the least suspicion of such cunning trickes, as he may be daily taken with, and will not sticke to maintaine as lawfull) to be more sincere than himselfe ; not that he alwayes mistrusts other mens present protestations, or professed resolutions for rendering the safety of their consciences, to be but faigned ; but these he imagines would alter with change of place ; from whose height every man would learne (as he hath done) either to discerne wonted strictnesse to be but vnexperienced scrupuloskie, or in charitie to esteeme such blemishes as appeare great in little ones, to be but little in great ones. And it may be, curious observance of bad patternes set by others, first emboldened him to adventure vpon like courses. Thus finally from experience of their own, and inspection of others liberty in matters disputable, or rather in vnpartiali iudgements, damnable : the worldly minded labour to make vp this compleate induction ; That such strictnesse or sinceritie of life as some would professe, is, in these latter

latter dayes but an affected fancy, a shadow or picture taken from the aunient, wherevnto no substance can now be found proportionable. To suspect antiquity of fabulositie or hypocrisie, is a degree of Atheisme wherevnto ordinary pride or emulation, (vnlesse ioyned with curiositie) can hardly impell them, because few enter comparison with the dead without as great danger of disgrace for the attempt, as can befall them by yeelding superioritie to the living, with whom they are, or can be compared for Christian integritie or sinceritie. But could the opposition be as direct in the one case, as in the other; could icalousie, lest former Saints might goe before them, as much exasperate their proud thoughts, as preferment of their present corrivals doth; they would be more ready to giue Gods spirit the lye, than to take the foyle: rather should diuine goodnesse it selfe be denied, than any be acknowledged simply better than themselves. Take them as they be, they differ not much from *Epicurus* his temper, who thought the gods were not of a gracious and benigne nature, because men in his opinion, were such from imbecillitie onely; more sottish was his collection to proue the gods had humane bodies, because he never had seene a reasonable or intelligent minde but in such bodies. For, as *Tully* well replies, he should by the same reaso have denied them to haue either body, soule, or being, in as much as they had beene vnto him alwayes invisible. Thus to conclude, whilest men of proud mindes and vn sincere are so backward to beleue any better things by others then they know by themselves, or their comforts, they proue themselves to be neither wiser nor

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honester than he that sayd in his heart, *there is no God.* Though *Nabals* be not their proper names, yet foolishnesse is with them: and if all be as they are, all are corrupt, all are abominable, all without understanding, without God, whose people they eat up as a man would eat bread, making a mocke of the poore because the Lord is his trust. Consonant to this secret language of these polypragmaticall ambitious politicke hearts, were the collections, which their cousin *Nabal* vttered with his lips. Having knowne perhaps some fugitiue servants in his time, he can hardly perswade himselfe that *Dauids* messengers were any better than vagrant persons, worthy to be laid fast by the heeles for demanding a deede of charity on their masters behalfe at his hands. Or admitting they be his true servants, why what is *David*? or who is the sonne of *Isbai*? what excellency is either in father or sonne? Would either of them take their bread, their water and flesh, which they had killed for their sheevers, and send it to him by men whom they know not whence they were? 1 Sam. 25. v. 10. In every covetous churlish proud, and ambitious minde, we may to this day obserue the like promptnesse to suspect truth of falsehood, to put good for evill, and evill for good, to maligne or vilifie the best grates of God bestowed upon his servants, rather than their substance should be diminished by paying them tribute; or their reputation or worth disparaged by suffering others to tender them such respect as is due to Gods faithfull messengers. And if by these devices they did not hope to set themselves without the reach of their checke, whose rightnesse standing in direct opposition to them, would breed their reproach; the Godhead it selfe, the rule

rule of goodnes, should at the next push be impugn'd. But this is an accursed plant, which though it never grow to such height as to deny there is a God, yet may it be much more deadly than the former branches of pertinacious disputatiue Atheisme. What it wants of them in full height or growth is more then fully containd in the deadlinesse of the roote. The other often springs from curiositie of fancy or artificiall trickes of wit, or superfluitie of braine, whereas nothing but satanized affection deeply rooted in the heart could afford such store of malignant nutriment as this helish slip must be fed with. Nor doe Satan and his Angels deny there is a God, whose power they often experience to be much greater than their owne. But that he is better than they are, or would be, had they his power; that he is more holy true and iust, or more favorable to mankind, than they would haue prou'd, might they haue gotten that place in heaven which they sought for, is a comparison which they can in no way digest. The chiefe art they exercise to misleade man from the wayes of truth and life, is to empeach God of falsehood, as if he would lie for his advantage as they doe, without any such necessitie as they haue, or finally to cast such suspicious aspersions vpon his lawes and promises, as their incarnate instruments do vpon the liues and resolutions of his Saints among whom they liue. The virulent censures which these slaues of corruption vomit out, giue vs the true taste of their Masters loathsome rancor against God.

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CHAPTER VII.

Of malignant Atheisme. Of the originall of enmitie vnto Godlinesse. That the excesse of this sinne doth beare witnesse to the truth which it oppugnes.

I



As there is no passion for the present more impetuous than the burning fits of incontinency: no corruption that can worke such strange suffusions in the eye of reason as the smoaking of fleshly lust: so is there no permanent disposition of body or soule so apt to quench or poyson all naturall notions of God, or religion, as dissolute intemperancy once rooted by long custome. Incontinency, as the*Philosopher obserues, drawes vs to a blindfold choise of particulars, whose vniversals we condemne and reiect; but intemperance corrupts the very roote or first principles whence all touch or conscience of good or evill springs. If temperance according to the inscription which it beares in Greeke, be the nursing mother of morrall prudence, or safe gardian of the minde & conscience; what other brood can be expected from dissolute intemperance but that folly of heart which so disordereth all our thoughts and actions as if there were no God to over-see them. Civill wisdom in *Platoes* iudgement may sooner entombe, than enshrine her selfe in bodies full stuf twice every day, vnaccustomed to lye without a bedfellow by night: and we Christians know that *vigilance & abstinence* are as two *Vshers* which bring our prayers vnto Gods presence. His

* *Aristotle*
in *Ethis.*

spirit delights to dwell in breasts thus inwardly clenched by abstinence and outwardly guarded with sobriety and watchfulness. But drunkenness and surfeiting (as a * Father speaks) drives him out of the humane soule, as smoke doth Bees out of their hives; howbeit that which goes into the mouth, doth not so much offend him as that which comes out of the heart, as adulterous or unclean thoughts. Yea the heart may be undefiled with lust, and yet unqualified either for entertaining Gods spirit speaking to vs, or for offering up incense unto him. That Gods testimony of himselfe, *I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt* might be imprinted in the Israelites senses, they are commanded not to come at their wines, when they came to heare it. And there must be a separation for a time betweene them whom God hath ioyned and made one body, that they may by fervency of abstinent prayers, be vnited to him in spirit. Strange then it is not, nor can it so seeme, that social lust should haue such peculiar antipathy with that holiness, which makes vs capable of Gods presence, without which we are but Atheists, when as matrimoniall chastitie consorts no better, than hath beene sayd with the puritie of Angelicall life; when as the children of the resurrection (as our Saviour tels vs) shall no more brooke the marriage bed. Now as they which in that other world enjoy the sight of God, can haue no minde of such bodily pleasures as may be lawfull to mortalitie: so neither will the intemperate appetite of unlawfull lust suffer mortalitie to see God in his Word, his threats, or promises. *This is the will of God even our sanctification, that we should abstaine from*
for-

* Basil

Exod. 19.
15.

1 Cor. 7. 5.

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1 Thes. 4.

2, 3, 4.

fornication, that every one should know how to possesse his vessell in holinesse and honour. Not in the lust of concupiscence as doe the Gentiles which know not God. Ignorance of God brought forth these lusts of concupiscence in the Heathen: and the like lusts as greedily affected by Christians, breede not ignorance onely, but a deniall of God, or of that holinesse which he is, without whose symbole no man shall ever see him.

2. To haue wrought the wise King to such grosse Idolatry as he polluted his soule withall, by any other meanes than by tempting loue of strange women, or other consorts of carnall pleasures, had beene perchance a matter impossible to the great tempter himselfe. To haue allured him in that age vnto Atheisme, had beene bootlesse, when as most of the gods which he worshipped, were held as *countenancers* or abettors of luxury, ryot, and intemperance. But now destitute of these pretended indulgences, or dispensatiōs from supposed diuine powers, by whose authoritie the old world was easily enticed to impurity, *he* labours to harden latter ages in this sinne, (whereto most of vs are naturally as prone as were our forefathers) by perswading them there is no true God, that will vndoubtedly call them vnto judgement for giuing the raines to headstrong lust. Hardly can Atheisme be so absolute in any, as vtterly to free them from all contradiction or checke of conscience whiles they wallow in vncleannesse, but such contradictions, compared with the strength of opposite desires, seeme to argue rather light surmises or iealousies, then any firme beliefe (so much as morall or naturall) that there is a God, or righteous iudge eternall. To hold it more probable, there

there is such a God or judge, then none, is the lowest degree imaginable of *believe*, it not rather the one extremitie or *ultimum non esse* of infidelitie or vnbelieve. But this strong bent of lust where it raignes, keepes mens coniectures of divine providence, or finall judgment, below this pitch. As men of highest place or hautiest spirits, to desires of greatest strength are alwayes most impatient of crosse or opposition. Against them, conscience cannot mutter, but shall be as quickly put to silence, as a precise Preacher that will take vpon him to reforme the disorders of a dissolute Court*. For whiles the delight or solace which men take in sensuall pleasures exceeds (without comparison) all sense or feeling of any spirituall ioy: they cannot but wish to exchange their remote hopes of the one, for quiet fruition of the other, & once possessed with eager desires *there might be no King in Israel*, but that every man without any feare of after reckonings might doe what seemed good in his owne eyes: their often longing to haue it so, easily impels them to thinke it is so; for *miseri facile credunt, quæ volunt*: and this conceipt once entertained sets loose the sensuall appetite to runne its course without a curbe: so doth presumption of vncontroleable libertie still whet the tast or sense of wonted pleasures which haue beene formerly abated by restraint. Lastly, from experience of this change and manifest improouement of accustomed delights, necessarily ariseth a detestation or loathing of all scrupulositie, as chiefe enemy to their greatest good. Thus they fall from one mischief to another, vntill their consciences become *cauterized* with the flames of lust, and being past all

* *Dubium nō est quia tanto quisq; minus dolet, quod desinit æterna; quanto magis gaudet, quod adfinit temporalia.*
Greg. in cap. 31. Iob. cap. 2.

Sectio. I.

*Ephes. 4.
18, 19.

feeling, they giue themselves over vnto lasciuiousnesse, to worke all uncleannesse with greedinesse*.

3. All dissolute behaviour is dangerous, and serues as fewell to this infernall fire, which will excruciate that soule after death; whose conscience it seares in this life: but that is much worse which is matched with haucie vastnesse of minde, for the most part transfused from gluttonish appetite, or the Epicurean disposition. As Boares and Bulls or other creatures by nature or breeding tame, onely through hugenesse of body or fulnesse of plight, grow often wilde, fierce, or *wankene*: so men from a like disposition of body or indulgence to brutish appetites, come to a gyantly temper of minde, readie to proclaime warre against heaven and heavenly powers. *What shall wee thinke the Gyants were* (saith *Macrobius,) *but a wicked generation of men which denied the gods, who for this reason were thought to haue attempted their deposition from their heavenly thrones.* He was not pacified (sayth a better Writer) towards the old Gyants, who fell away in the strength of their foolishnesse. Hence the same Author prayes ioyntly against these sister sinnes and twinns of hell; O Lord father and God of my life leaue me not in their imagination, neither giue me a proud looke, but turne away from thy servant a Gyantly minde. Take from me vaine hope and concupiscence, and retaine him in obedience that desireth continually to serue thee. Let not the greedinesse of the belly, nor lust of the flesh hold me, and giue not me thy servant over to an impudent or gyantly minde*. This he prayes against, was the very temper of the Cyclops, as Homer and Euripides haue pictured them. After *Flysses* and his mates had besought the Gyant to

be

*Lib. 1. Saturna. cap.
20.

Eccles. 16.
7.

*Eccles. 23.
7. 4, 5, 6.

be good vnto them for *Jupiters* sake the supposed protector of the helpless stranger; He answered him in this or like language.

Cap. 7.

Ως ἱερμίν. ὁ δὲ μ' αὖτις ἀμείβετο νηλεῖ θυμῷ,
Νέπριος εἰς ὃ ζῆν, ὃ τηλόθεν ἐλάλησας, &c.

Hom. O-
dys. lib. 9.
pag. 261,
262.

*My pettie guest a foole thou art,
or sure thou comm'st from farre,
Thou hop'st with names of heavenly Gods
the Cyclops stout to scarre:
Vnto the Gods wee owe no feare,
wee no observance shew,
Our selues to be as good as they,
or better, well wee knowe.
For Goate-nurst Ioue, his loue or hate,
I waigh it not a whit,
Nor thee nor thine for him I le spare,
but as I thinke it fit.*

His picture as *Euripides* hath taken it, is more *Gyantly* vast. For he paints him proclaiming his belly to be the onely or greatest God, vnto whose sacrifice the fruits & increase of the earth are due by title so soveraigne, as neither heaven nor earth could withdraw or deteyne them. Speeches altogether as vsavoury will the belly-servers of our time belch out, though not directly against God (because they liue not in an Anarchic destitute of humane lawes as the *Cyclops* did) yet against the messengers of his sacred will revealed for their salvation, whiles we dehort them from these shamefull courses wherein they glory to their destruction.

Sectio. I.

*Phil. 3. 19.

tion. And albeit they vse no such expresse forme of liturgie, as did the *Cyclops* while they sacrifice to their bellies: yet *S. Pauls* testimony is expresse, *that their bellie is their God**. And of the two Priests or grand sacrificers to this domesticke Idoll; the dry Glutton (me thinkes) resembles the Land-serpent, as his brother the beastly Drunkard doth the Water-snake. This latter is more vnslightly and vgly to the eye; the former more noysome and venemous to religious societie. His enmitie against the Womans seed more deadly, but lesse auoydable, because the working of his poyson is lesse offensive and more secret.

4. Simple Atheisme consists in an equilibration of the minde, brought as it were so to hang in its owne light, as it cannot see whether way to encline, but hooovers in the middle with *Diagoras*, *de Dīs non habeo quid dicam, &c.* Concerning the Gods I haue nothing to say for them, or against them. Howbeit to men thus minded it seemes the safest course *līpendente*, to sacrifice onely to their owne desires, and to hold Gods part by sequestratiō. The curious or disputing Atheist strives to draw himselfe downe a little below this leuell, by matching the attractions of diuine goodnesse with the motions of his owne imaginations. But the malignancy of this Atheisme which ariseth from combination of the late mentioned distempers, may grow so great, as to turne the notions of good and euill topsie turvie: transposing these inclinations which nature hath set on heaven and heavenly things, towards hell. As all inordinate affections, more or lesse, abate or counterway our propensions vnto goodnesse; so the excesse of such as are most malignant, bring the soule

to an utter distaste or loathing of whatsoever is truly good, and to delight in doing mischief. Now the very procurers or advancers of mischief much affected, shall be deified with rites and titles due to God alone, as it were in factions opposition to the holy spirit. The same unwildy or vast desires of sensuall pleasures or contentments, which disenable men to distinguish *that* which is truly good, from that which seemeth best to their distempers, will with the same facility draw them blindfold to a like sinister or preposterous choyce of their patrones. As the truly godly, worship the true God, because his greatnesse is so good to all; so vnto these wicked or malignant Impes, *That* shall be Lord, *That* shall be God, whatsoever it be which they esteeme their greatest good, or vnder whose protection they may quietly possesse what they already enioy. We see it too often experienced, that stubborne desires of lucre, honour, lust, or revenge, draw men destitute of other meanes for accomplishing their hopes, vnto expresse and wilfull compacts with Devils, or performances of sacrifices to infernall powers. The observant Poet makes *Iuno* speake, as great Personages in like remedlesse crosses, vsually resolute:

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

Virgil.

nor doth the language of that other, ought vary from the common practise of forlorne hopes, suggested by vast desires:

—*Vos mihi manes*
Este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas.

Idem.

If

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If these and the like prayers or wishes of heathen supplicants found gratefull successe, their second edition in plaine English was thus :

*What Heavens have marr'd, whiles Hell amends,
Fiends goe for Gods, and Gods for Fiends.*

5. With many men otherwise of sober disposition, onely too much wedded to the world, or to their own wills, a *sorcerers* charme will be as acceptable, as a godly prayer, so the event ensuing giue present content or satisfaction to their desires. Yet many Atheists (as

* *Vasquez* in
primam par-
tem, quest. 2.
artic. 3. disp.
30. cap. 4.
num. 10.

* *Vasquez* counts it a point of speciall observation) vpon wicked practises, sometimes recoyle, and come to beleeue there is a God or guide of nature, by evident experience of magicke teates, farre surpassing the power of man, or creatures visible.

6. It seemes to me an object worthy deeper speculation of the observant, that albeit some Atheists may so farre *abortivate*, or *dead* the seedes of religion sown in their soules, as that they shall never bring forth any expresse thought, or liue apprehension of their Creator; yet can they not vtterly evacuate nature of their *remainder*. Either in their speeches, actions, or resolutions, they still bewray some corrupt reliques of celestiall infusions. And as wine and strong waters, which through ill keeping, haue lost their native force and proper relish, become most loathsome & vnpleasant; so the imbred *notions* of God and godlinesse after they be themselves tainted, doe sublimate the corruptions of nature (with which they mingle) into a kinde of rancor more than naturally irreligious, such as the *Psalmist*

mist

mist calls the *poysen of Aspes*. In all the contentious quarrels vsually pickt by dissolute and godlesse persons against men of religious and vnspotted life, there appeares a root of bitterneffe supernaturall or diabolicall. The pietie that shines in the one, the other holds in execration, and persecuteth with such a kind of zealous hate as true pietie doth execrable villanies. If they be men of better place which be thus badly minded, they exact respect and dutie in such straines of passion, as if it were sacriledge to deny it them; albeit in other cases nothing to them is sacred, or worthy of religious esteeme. The threatens likewise of revenge breath'd out by them in their braver humors, are vsually besprinkled with some *flowing notions* of a divine Maiestie, whereof in this humor onely they are apprehensive; because the personall offence committed against their dignities, cannot seeme so great as they desire to make them, without deriving Gods right or sovereignty vpon themselves, or making him sharer in their wrongs.

7. Of some affinitie, or rather of the selfe same progenie with this observation, is that sweete discourse of *S. Austine*, wherein he proues the desire of peace to be so deeply implanted in every mans soule, as spirits most turbulent and vnquiet can never vterly shake it of, but rather of necessity (though preposterously) follow it, even in such seditious and tumultuous broyles as wilfully and causly they haue kindled.

What Kite is there so much addicted to solitude in soaring after his prey, which hath not his mate, whom he helps in hatching and cherishing their common brood, which preserues not the lawes of domestick societie with

F

his

Cap. 7.

Quis mirus
quācumlibet
solitaria rapina
non circum
congregat
coniugiu co

Sectio. 3.

pulsat, adu-
congerit, qua
conferet, pul-
las alit, &
quasi cū sua
matre fami-
liās societate
domesticam,
quanta po-
test pace con-
feruat, &c.
Aug. de Ci-
uit. Dei. lib.
19. cap. 12.
Omnis homo
etiam belli-
gerando pa-
cem requirit,
nemo autem
bellum paci-
ficando. Nam
est illi qui pa-
cem in qua
sunt perbur-
bare volunt:
non pacem o-
derunt, sed
eam pro ar-
bitrio suo
cupiunt com-
mutari. Non
ergo ut sit
pax volunt,
sed ut casit,
quam noluit.
Aug. ibidem.

his female consort, with as great peace as he can? How
much more is man led by the lawes of nature to maintaine
peace as farre as in him lyeth with all men: when as even
wicked and naughty men, will fight for the welfare of
them and theirs: and would (if it were possible) that all
men and all things els might do them service, unless they
conspire together for their peace, either through loose or
fear? Thus doth pride though preposterously imitate
God, it hateth equality with all fellow creatures vnder
God, but seeks to exercise dominion over them in Gods
stead. So then it hates that iust peace which is of God,
and loathes its owne vnrighteous peace, but not to lose some
one kinde of peace or other it cannot chuse. For no vice
is so contrary to nature, as to hate all print of naturall
lawes. Those (as the same Father addes) which disturbe
the peace wherein they liue, doe not simply hate peace, but
rather couet to change it at their pleasure. It is not their
will then to haue no peace, but to haue such peace as they
will. In like manner, the Foele of Foeles (the irreligious
Politician) when he wisheth in his heart there might be
no God, desires himselfe might be as God. The obser-
vances which he exacts of his inferiours are many times
such, as naturall reason not infatuated may easily dis-
cover to belong vnto a greater power than he is capa-
ble of, whose authoritie he abuseth as vngracious ser-
uants doe their gracious Lords and Masters.

CHAP. VIII.

Means for preventing infection of Atheisme or irreligion. In what temper or constitution of minde, the ingrafted notion of God and goodnesse doth best prosper. That affliction gives understanding in matters sacred, with the reasons why it doth so.

THe chiefe causes of Atheisme being discovered, the meanes to prevent it cannot be difficult, and these consist in this triple care: *First*, To preserve the heart, or fountaine pure & cleane from all mixture of earth or dregs of lust, in which the image of God either cannot be imprinted, or will quickly be defaced. *Secondly*, To keepe it calme and free from agitation of boysterous or tumultuous passions, whereby the representation of impressions acquired, or naturally inherent, are alwayes hindered. *Thirdly*, To avoyde the intangling love of wrangling arts, whose impertinent curious disquisitions, wooven for the most part, with obscure perplexed termes, are as a cataract vpon the eye of reason, intercepting its rayes from piercing into the heart; that, being a deepe into whose bottome ordinary lights without these helps as well for right proposall or representation of the object, as for the right qualification of the faculties, cannot dye. To the same Reader may adde the qualities before required for the right growth of faith*. Whatsoever hindereth it, must needs hinder all heliefe of the true God, and whatsoever is available for furthering it, must needs

* Justifying faith. Section the last.

Sectio. 1.

needs be alike avaleable for raising beliete of Gods existence, his goodnesse, or other attributes. But of that puritie of heart, wherein the right and perfect representation of the divine nature is chely seene, wee are to speake more particularly in the last part of this Treatise.

2. Besides avoidance of these generall incumbrances, a peculiar disposition or temper there is, wherein the common notion of the Deitie or divine power gives a more sensible *Crists* of its inherence in our soule. The nature of which disposition cannot better be expressed, than by a temper contrary to the *giantly* vastnesse of minde, or vnrelenting stubbornnesse of heart. It is well observed by the *Examiner of wits*, that he which is by nature vnapprehensive of danger, is neerer allied vnto *foole-hardnesse* than to *fortitude*; seeing the truly valourous, will in many cases be afraid, though not affrighted out of their wits, or farther delected than occasions require. Howbeit the valour it selfe so much magnified amongst the Heathen, or with the world to this day, is no fit consort for Christian humility, rather to be reckoned amongst the *mightie* things which God hath purposed to confound, than with the *weake* which he hath chosen to confound them. The true reason why it was so much extold about other vertues, was not (the great *Philosopher* being judge) because it was by nature better, or did internally more beautifie the parties minds wherein it rested, but because it did much benefit others. The disposition which now wee seeke, is somewhat lower, more apprehensive of death, of danger, or other humane infirmities, apter to be stricken with

feare

* *Huarter* in his tryall of Wits.

* *Aristotle* in his *Problems*.

feare at conscioulnes of internall evils, than to be driven vpon imminent perils by popular Fame. To the framing of this middle temper betweene *elation* of minde and *timorous* deiection, was that Ccunsell of *Cyprian* directed, *Vt cognoscere Deum possis, te ante cognosce*. Nothing is farther from vs (saith a learned Writer) than we are from our selues; and naughtie men (as *Seneca* saith) are every where, besides *with themselves*; yet the farther from our selues we are, the farther we are from our God. Therefore saith God by the Prophet *Esay*; *Heare you that are a far of*. And in the language of *Salomon* in his purest thoughts, *to turne to our owne hearts*, and *to turne to the Lord with our hearts*, are of equivalent signification. Now to know our selues (as *Tully* obserues) binds vs, as well to a modest esteeme of our owne *worth*, or (to speake more Christian-like) of our *place* amongst Gods creatures, as to a notice of our infirmities. Too much deiection (as *S. Cyprian* concludes) disposeth to Idolatry, as Ingenuous feare doth to the knowledge of the true God. Howbeit of such devotion, as the Heathens had, feare (it seemes) was the mother: hence (perhaps) were they so observant first to offer placatory sacrifices to such Gods as might do them harme, & afterward propitiatory sacrifices to those of whom they expected good. *Observabant Antiqui in sacrificijs, ut ante adversos placarent, et postea propitios invocarent**. Thus much, if best *Grammarians* are to be beleeeued, is curiously characterized vnto vs by the Romane Poet, who (as this late Writer complaines) was much better seene in Heathen rites, than Christian Divines are in the mysteries of sacrifices offred vnto the true

2 Chron.
cap. 6. vers.
37, 38.

*Gyraldus
Syntag. 17.

Sectio. 1.

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2 Chron.
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37, 38.

*Gyraldus
Syntag. 17.

Sectio. 1.

God. For instance to our present purpose, when *Aeneas* and his followers had resolved to offer sacrifice for a faire Winde and merrie passage to-wardes Candie, they offer first to *Neptune*, then to *Apollo*; to the stormie winter, before the sweete spring Winds:

Virg. *Æ-*
neid. lib. 3.

Ergo agite, & divum ducunt quâ iussa, sequamur:
Placemus ventos, & Gnosia regna petamus.
Nec longo distant cursu (modò Iupiter adsit)
Tertia lux classem Creteis sistet in oris.
Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi pulcher Apollo,
Nigram Hyemi pseudem, zephyris felicibus albam.

Againe when *Dido* wooed the Gods with sacrifices to further her intended marriage with *Aeneas*: though *Juno* were the first in her intention and esteeme, as being finally to blesse the Match; yet she begins with *Ceres* whom she feared would be most averse as detesting all marriage for the stealth of her daughter, married against her will; and in the next place with *Apollo*, who never had wife himselfe; and therefore bore no great affection vnto marriage.

Virg. *Æ-*
neid. lib. 4.

Principio delubra adeunt, pacemq; per aras
Exquirunt: mactant lætas de more bidentes.
Frugifera Cereri, Phæboq; , patriq; Lyæo:
Innoni ante omnes, cui vincla iugalia curæ.

The summe of these, and like instances, is, That
feare

feare was the beginning of such wisedome, as the Heathens had concerning divine powers. Not *ignorance*, but *Feare* was the Mother of their devotion.

3. There is no sinewe of carnall strength, but secretly lifts vp the *heart*, and sometimes the hand and voice, against the God of our strength and health. Might *Caligula* whensoever it thundred, haue had the opportunitie of *scouting* into a place, as well fenc't by nature as the *Cyclops* den, he would haue thought as little, or lightly, as the vast *Gyant* did of the great *God*, whom he never thought of but with feare; whom he never feared, saue when he spake to him in this terrible language, which yet would haue stricken small terrour through thicke rockes, into such a brawnie heart, as the anatomy of the *Cyclops* representeth, who thought so much of the noise as came to his cares, might easily be counter-blasted with the like within. Mindes altogether as gyantly, and vast, are often lodged in bodies not halfe so huge. What is wanting to the supportance of such security in personall strength and greatnesse, is made vp by multitude of consorts; As imagine a garrison of good fellowes, so qualified, as *Syracides* prayed he never might be, should meete in a nooke or sconce, as well guarded against storme and tempest, and as well stored with victualls as was the *Cyclops* caue; what other *note* might be expected whiles good liquor lasted, but *let the Welkin roare*. The best vent we can giue to this naturall pride that makes vs thus prone to blasphemy, would be to make our infirmities the chiefe matter of our glory or boasting.

Vide Euripid. Cyclops.

Sectio. I.

4. *As the feare of God is the beginning of wisdom*, so the beginning of this feare, is from a temper apprehensive of terrors represented in his creatures. *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*, was a speech uttered by an audacious Hare-braine in a furious passion; no marvell if it did overlast. The present advice of the Oracle did contradict his foole-hardy desire of warre, and to perswade his desperate companions the ominous signes related, were but pretended by the Prophet; He calls the originall of Religion in question, as if divine powers had no true subsistence, but were represented onely by glimering feare, or faint-heartednesse. And faint-hearted he counted all, that were not so furious as himselfe. But vnto this suspition, ingenuous feare had not beene lyable, vnlesse common experience had taught him, or the Poet which painted him in this humour, that men in perplexities, vnexpected troubles, or feares, (in humane censure) remedilesse, are vsually most mindfull of God. Extremities, indeed cause the naturall notions, which are ingrafted in our hearts to worke: they imprint not the opinion or perswasion of Religion. But it is a fallacie too * familiar vnto sober thoughts, even in their accurate disquisitions of natures secrets, to esteeme *that* as the totall cause, or first producer, which sets nature onely a working, or doth but cherish or manifest effects truly pre-existent, though latent. Perchance the letting out of a little hot bloud, or some other more grievous print of divine punishment, would haue restored the Bedlem to his right minde, so as others might haue taken out that lesson from him, which *Plinie* the yonger did from his sicke friend, not much vnlike to that
of

* See the 5.
Section of
this Booke,
the last
Chapter.

of our Apostle ; *When I am weake, then am I strong.*
 " *The languishment of a certaine friend (sayth this Au-*
 " *thor) hath taught me of late, that we are best men when*
 " *we are sickly ; what sicke man is tempted with avarice or*
 " *lust ? he is not subiect to loue, or greedie of honour,*
 " *wealth he contemnes, how little soever he hath, it suffi-*
 " *ceth him, being shortly to leaue it. Then he remēbers there*
 " *be Gods, that he himselfe is but a man ; he envies no man,*
 " *he admires no man, he despiseth no man ; maligning spee-*
 " *ches neither winne his attention, nor please his inclinati-*
 " *on ; his imagination runs on baths or fountaines : This is*
 " *the chiefe of his care, the prime of his desires, if it please*
 " *God he may recover his former health and plight, he pur-*
 " *poseth a harmlesse and an happie life. What Philosophers*
 " *labour to teach vs in many words, yea in many volumes,*
 " *I can comprehend in this short precept ; Let vs persevere*
 " *such in health, as we promise to be in our sicknesse.*
 That this Heathen whiles thus well minded other-
 wise, should be so mindfull of his God, is a very preg-
 nant prooffe from the effect, that the naturall ingrafted
 notions of the Deitie proportionably increase or wane
 with the notions of morall good or evill. The cause
 hereof is more apparant, from that essentiall linke or
 combination, which is betweene the conceipt of vice
 and vertue, and the conceipt of a Iudgement after this
 life, wherein different estates shall be awarded to the
 vertuous and to the vitious ; hence the true apprehen-
 sion of the one naturally drawes out an vndoubted

Cap. 8.

^a Nuper me
 cuiusdam a-
 mici languor
 admonuit, op-
 timos esse nos
 dum infirmi
 sumus. Quē
 enim infirmū
 aut avaritia
 aut libido so-
 licitat? non a-
 moribus ser-
 uir, non appe-
 tit honores,
 opes negligit,
 & quantu-
 lumcunq; re-
 reliquiturus,
 satis habet
 tunc Deos :
 tunc hominē
 esse se memi-
 nit: inuidet
 nemini, nemi-
 nem miratur,
 neminem de-
 spicit, ac ne
 sermonibus
 quidem ma-
 lignis aut at-
 tendit, aut a-
 listur, balinea
 imaginatur
 & fontes:
 Hac summa
 curarū sum-
 ma votorum,
 molemq; in
 posterum &

*pinguem si contingat euadere, hoc est, innoxiam beatamq; destinat vitam. Possum ergo quod
 pluribus verbis, pluribus etiam voluminibus Philosophi docere conantur, ipse breuiter tibi mi-
 hiq; precipere, vt tales esse sani perseueremus, quales nos futuros profiteamur infirmi. Plin.
 Epistole 26. ad Maximum. lib. 7.*

appre-

Sectio. 1.

apprehension of the other, vnlesse the vnderstanding be vnattentive or perverted. For that any thing should be so simply good, as a man might not vpon sundry respects abiure the practise of it; or ought so absolutely euill, as vpon no termes it might be embraced, vnlesse we grant the soule to be immortall & capable of miserie and happinesse in another world, is an imagination vnfitting the capacitie of brutish or meere sensitive creatures, as shall be shewed by Gods assistance in the Article of finall Iudgement.

5. That sicknesse and other crosses or calamities are best teachers of such good lessons, as *Plinies* forementioned friend had learned from them; *Elihu* long before him had observed: whose observation includes thus much withall, that such as will not be taught by these instructions, are condemned for *trewants* and *non-proficients* in the schoole of Nature, Vertue, or Religion, that is, for *Hypocrites* and men vnfound at the heart. For if the roote or seede of morall goodnesse remaine sound, the Maxime holds alwayes true, [*maturant aspera mentem*] Adversitie is like an harvest Sunne, it ripeneth the minde to bring forth fruites of repentance. He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous; but with Kings are they on the throne, yea he doth establishe them for ever, and they are exalted. And if they be bound in fetters, and be holden in cordes of affliction, then he sheweth them their worke, and their transgressions, that they haue exceeded. He openeth also their eare to discipline, and commandeth that they returne from iniquitie. If they obey and serue him, they shall spend their dayes in prosperitie, and their yeares in pleasures. But if they obey not, they shall perish by the sword, and they shall dye

dye without knowledge: but the Hypocrites in heart heape up wrath; they cry not when he bindeth them*. The truth as well of *Plinies*, as of *Elihues* observation is presupposed by most of Gods Prophets, with whom it is vsuall to vpbraid his people with brutish stupiditie and hardnesse of heart; to brand them with the note of vngracious children, for not returning vnto the Lord in their distresse: as if to continue in wonted sinnes or riotous courses, after such sensible and reall proclamations to desist, were open rebellion against God. Senselesse of paines in extreame agonies, doth not more certainly prognosticate death of body, or decay of bodily life and spirits, than impenitency in affliction doth a desperate estate of soule. For the people turneth not vnto him that smiteth them, neither doe they seeke the Lord of Hosts. Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and taile, branch and rush in one day*. And in that day did the Lord God of Hostes call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldnesse, and to girding with sackcloth. And behold ioy, and gladnesse, slaying oxen, and killing sheepe, eating flesh, and drinking wine: let vs eat and drinke for to morrow wee shall dye. And it was revealed in mine eares by the Lord of Hostes; surely this iniquitie shall not be purged from you, till ye dye, sayth the Lord God of Hostes*.

6. The reason of this truth it selfe thus testified by three ranks of witnesses, is not obscure in their Philosophy, to whom I most accord; who teach that the seedes of all truth are sowne by Gods hand in the humane soule, and differ onely in reference or denomination from our desires of knowledge indefinitely taken. As to our first parents, so vnto vs, when we first

Cap. c.

* Iob. 36.
ver 7. &c.

* Isaiah 9.
v. 13, 14.

* Isaiah 22.
v. 12, 13, 14.

Sectio. 1.

first come vnto the vse of reason, *knowledge it selfe*, and for its owne sake, seemeth sweete and welcome; whether it be of things good or euill, we much respect not. But this desire of knowledge, which in respect of actuall apprehension is indifferent, neither set vpon good nor euill, is vsually taken vp by actuall or experimentall knowledge of things euill, or so vnprofitable, that our inclinations or adherences vnto them, either counterway our inclinations vnto goodnesse, or choke our apprehensions of things truly good. Now after our hopes of enioying such sense-pleasing objects, be by affliction or calamitie cut of: the soule which hath not beene indissolubly wedded vnto them or alreadie giuen over by God vnto a reprobate sense, hath more libertie than before it had, to retire into it selfe, and being freed from the attractiue force of allurements, vnto the vanities of the world, the Devill, or flesh: the naturall or implanted seedes of goodnesse recover life and strength, and begin to sprout out into apprehensions, either in loathing their former courses, or in seeking after better. And every least part or degree of goodnesse truly apprehended, bringeth forth an apprehension of the author or fountaine, whence it floweth, that is, of the diuine nature. * *In my prosperitie I said, I shall never be moved. Lord by thy fauour thou hast made my mountaine to stand strong: thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled. I cryed to thee, O Lord: and vnto the Lord I made my supplication.* It may seeme strange to our first considerations, as Calvin with some others vpon this place ob-

* Psal. 30.
ver. 6, 7, 8.

* Sicut enim
Ferrum quod
diuturna
quiete rubi-
ginem con-
traxit, ac-

commodari ad nullos vsus potest, nisi in ignem coniectum recoquatur & malleo contundatur: sic postquam semel preualuit securitas carnis, nemo alacriter animam ad Deum astollit, nisi cruce maceratus & probe subactus. Mollerus in Psal. 30 9.

serue,

serue, that God should enlighten Davids eyes by hiding his face from him, without the light of whose countenance, even knowledge it selfe is no better than darkenesse. But so it is, that prosperitie doth oftentimes infatuate the best men, and adversity maketh bad men wise. The saying is authentique, though the Author be Apocryphall, * *Anima in angustijs & spiritus anxius clamat ad te. O Lord God almightie, God of Israel, the soule in Anguish, the troubled spirit cryeth vnto thee.* So is that other, *Castigatio tua disciplina est eis; Thy chastisement is their instruction.*

*Baruc. cap. 3. vers. 1.

Calvin hath a memorable story of a prophane Companion, that in his jollitie abused the words of the Prophet; *The heaven, even the heavens are the Lords; but the earth hath he given to the children of men.* Psal. 115. vers. 16. The vse or application which this wretch hence made, was, that God had as little to doe with him here on earth, as he had to doe with God in heaven. But presently being taken with a suddaine gripe or pang, he cryed out, *O God, O God.* Yet this short affliction did not give him perfect vnderstanding, for after-

Cogor hic memorabilem historiam referre. Accidit nobis in diversorio quodam cananibus, ut profanus Dei contempnor sermones nostros de spe celestis vite deridens, subinde ludibrium hoc euomeret, Cælum Cæli Domino illic repente correptus diris torminibus cæpit vociferari, O Deus, O Deus: atque ut erat pasulo gutture, boam suo replebat coram canaculum. Ego qui in eum seue e ex-candueram, perrexi meo more, stomacho se denuncians ut tunc saltem sentiret non impune Deo illudi. Vnus ex convivis, qui hodie adhuc superstes est, homo probus & religiosus, sed tamen facetus, hac opportunitate in alium finem usus est: Tunc Deum invocas? an Philosophia tua tibi usus es? cur non in suo cælo finis quaesitare? Et quoties ille tonabat, O Deus, hic alter subsannans regerebat, ubi nunc est illud tuum, Cælum cæli Domino? At tunc quid in levamus est: sed quod reliquum in a vita, in suis impuris for-dibus transigit.

wards, he returned againe vnto his vomit and wallowing in his wanted uncleanness. This relation of Calvines, serveth as a testimony to confirme the truth of Tertullians observation, which

Sectio. r.

*Tertullianus
Apolog.
adversus
Gentes. cap.
17.

*Vide anno-
tationes Lu-
dovici de La
Corda in hunc
locum.

which serves as a Document or sure experiment of our last assertion. Vultis ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur; vultis ex anima ipsius testimonio comprobemus? Quia licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus et concupiscentiis enigorata, licet falsis Dijs ex ancillata, cum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, Deum nominat, hoc solo quia proprie, verus hic unus Deus, bonus et magnus, Et quod Deus dederit, omnium vox est. Iudicem quoque contestatur illum, Deus videt, et deo commendo, et Deus mihi reddet. O testimonium anima naturaliter Christiane. Denique pronuncians haec, non ad capitolum, sed ad caelum respicit. Novit enim sedem Dei vivi; ab illo, et inde descendit*. Shall I proue unto you (there is but one God) from his manifold workes by which we are preserved and sustained, with which we are refreshed, yea by which we are astonished? or shall I proue the same truth by the testimony of the Soule it selfe, which though it be kept under by the prison of the body, though surrounded by naughtie and dissolute education, though in feeble by lust and evill concupiscentie, though enslaved to false Gods: yet when shee returns unto her selfe out of* distempers (surfet) sleepe or other infirmitie, and enioyes some gleames of health, shee calls on God without addition of other titles, because this God which shee calls upon, is truly one, truly good, and truly great. What God shall award, is a speech rise in every mans mouth: unto this God, the Soule appeales as unto her Iudge. God he sees, to God I commend my cause, Let God determine of me or for me, A worthy testimony, that the Soule is naturally Christian. Finally, the Soule whiles shee

acts

acts these or the like parts locketh not to the Capitoll (the imagined seate of such Gods as the Romans worshipped) but up to Heaven as knowing the seate of the living God, from whom and whence hee is descended. Many other authorities which might here be averched to the same purpose, do sufficiently argue, that the multiplicitie of Gods, was a conceipt, or imagination seated or hatched onely in the braine; that even the very Heathens themselves, which worshipped many Gods, and would have maintained their profession of such service in opposition to their adversaries vnto death; being thoroughly pinched with calamitie, or occasioned to looke seriously into their owne hearts, did usually tender their supplications vnto the Deitie, or divine power it selfe, which filleth all places with his presence, whose tribunall is in heaven. Steeing anguish of soule, contrition of spirit, or (generally) affliction, cause naturall notions of God and goodnesse, formerly imprisoned in the earthly or fleshly part of this old man, to shoote forth and present themselves to our apprehensions; in case, no calamitie or affliction doe befall vs, we are voluntarily to consort with others, whom God hath touched with his heauie hand, or as Salomon adviseth vs, to visite the house of mourning, more then the house of mirth. Or in case the Lord vouchsafe not to send these his seuerer visitors, either to vs, or to our neighbours; yet he alwayes giues vs libertie, to inuite another guest in afflictions roome, which expects no costly or curious entertainment; fasting I meane; now to fast according to the prescript of Gods law, is to afflict our soules.

Sectio. I.

CHAPTER IX.

In what respects supernaturall grace or faith infused is necessarie to the right beliefe of these truths, which may in part, be certainly knowne by diligent search of naturall reason.

I.



Ut if to nature not blinded by vaine curiosity nor polluted with the dregs of lust, if to men free from passion, or chastised by the hand of God the apprehension of the Deitie be cleare and evident: the habit of supernaturall assent vnto the first Article of this Creed, may seeme either altogether superfluous, or not very necessary. Vnto this difficulty proposed in termes more generall, (whether faith may be of objects otherwise evident and exactly knowne) some schoole-men acutely thus reply; He that by reasons demonstratiue knowes this or other like truths beleaved, that there is one God, and no more, which hath created the world: may, (notwithstanding the evidence of motives necessitating his will to this assent,) either doubt, or deeme it a truth very obscure and vnevident, whether God ever revealed thus much; otherwise, than by the common light of Nature, or helps of Art. Consequently to their divinity, they might reduce the resolution of the difficultie proposed to fewer termes and more constant, thus, [the habit of faith or supernaturall assent is not necessary to ascertain vs that the matters beleaved by vs, are in themselves true (seeing this much (as is supposed) may be prooved by reasons
more

more evident than faith, which is alwayes of objects *unevident* (at least wise as apprehended by vs) *but so assure us, that their truth was testified or avouched by God,* whose testimony cannot be knowne but by his expresse word written or spoken.

2. But if our former assertion [*that our knowledge of any object cannot be more certaine then it is evident*] be orthodoxall: he that could demonstrate any Article of beliefe, should be more beholding to the evidence of Art or demonstration, than to the supernaturall habit of *unevident* faith. Wherefore with better consonancy to former discussions, and (if we be not in both mistaken) vnto the truth we may thus resolve the doubt proposed. *The necessary existence of a God-head or supreme cause with the possibilitie of other things beleaved, may be indefinitely knowne by light of Nature or demonstration;* but so much of these or any Article in this Creede contain'd; as every Christian must beleue, or (which is all one) the exact forme of any one Articles entire truth, can never be knowne by Art or Nature, but onely by Gods word revealed, or the internal testimony of his spirit *refashioning* his decayed image in mens hearts, according to the patterne wherein they were first created. That the resurrection (though this truth to corrupt nature seemes most difficult) is not impossible, yea that it is impossible there should not be a resurrection or iudgement after death, may be demonstrated; but that the wicked shall rise to torments, the righteous to ioy & glory everlasting, is a streame of life which naturally springs not within the circuit of the heavens; it must be infused from above.

Sectio. I.

3. The naturall man left to himselfe, or vsing meere spectacles of art, yea though admitted to the glasse of Gods word, will alwayes in one point or other conceiue amisse of the Deitie, and transforme the *incorruptible nature* into the similitude of corruption. Yet further, admitting the naturall man might attaine vnto an exact modell or right proportion of faith, and assent vnto the objects themselves rightly conceived, as eident and most certaine, whilest their truth were oppugn'd onely by speculatiue contradiction: yet these perswasions would quickly vanish, and his assent once assaulted with grievous tentations of the flesh, or suggestions framed by Satan, forthwith recoyle. Vnto every Article then in this Creede, *faith* infused by the spirit of *God*, is necessary in two respects. *First*, for framing an entire exact forme of things beleaved. *Secondly*, for quickning or fortifying our assent vnto them as good in the practise, against all assaults of the Devill, world, or flesh. Or more briefly; it is necessary both for refashioning and reviving the decayed image of *God* in our soules. Or, to notifie the manner of our renovation by the manner of creation: the ingrafted *notion* is the matter or subiect, out of which Gods spirit raiseth the right and entire frame of faith, as it did the frame & fashion of this visible world out of that masse, which was first without forme though created by him. The indefinite truth of this *notion*, which is the subiect, whereon (as the spirits instrument) we are to worke, will better appeare from the consent of the Heathen: the originall of whose errors or misconceits about the *essence, unitie or nature of the God-head*, will direct vs for the right fashioning of his image in our selues.

4. But

4. But as it is the safest courie for any man, to make tryall of his skill at *foyles*, before he adventure to give prooffe of his valour at *sharpe*: so it will be behoovefull for vs in the next place to obserue the originall of misapprehensions or misleadings of the Imagination in matters ordinary and secular, wherein error is vsually greater than the losse, that wee may be the better provided for preventing the like in matters sacred, wherein error is alwayes accompanied with danger; wherein finally to loose the way is vtterly to loose our selues.

(. . .)





SECTION .II.

Conteyning the originall manner of right apprehensions,
and errours in matters naturall or morall.



Hough light of Nature and
consent of Nations moued
* Tully to that vndoubted
acknowledgement of di-
vine powers, which wee
mentioned before: yet
when he came to discusse
the nature of the Gods or
God-head in particular,
the very multiplictie of opinions in this argument
caused him to reele and stagger. And had we no bet-
ter guide then Nature to direct vs in this search, the
best of vs perhaps would quickly subscribe to his opi-
nion in his Preface to that Treatise, *Non sumus ii,
quibus nihil verum esse videatur: sed ii, qui omnibus veris
falsa quedam adiuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut
in ijs nulla insit certa iudicandi, & assentiendi nota.* &c.
Wee are not of their opinion which thinke nothing is true,
but rather of theirs who thinke all truths have some false-
hoods annexed vnto them, in such cunning and futeable
disguise, as there is scarce any certaine rule left for discer-
ning the one from the other. &c. Cicero ad M. Brutum de
natura Deorum. lib. 1. To a meere naturall man or
Philosopher, it might well in the first place be questio-
ned,


* See Secti-
on the first,
cap. the 3.

Sectio. 2.

ned, how he can possibly attaine by light of nature to any knowledge of things spirituall or imperceptible by sense.

CHAPTER X.

The severall opinions of Philosophers concerning the manner how Intellection is wrought or produced: what is to be thought of intelligible formes.

- I. WO *Maximes* there be in our vulgar Philosophy, which were they fully stretched according to that proprietie of speech, wherein *Maximes* should be conceived, would sound too harsh to ordinary experience to consort well with Philosophicall truth; The one, that our vnderstanding is *Similis vasa tabula*, like to a plaine Table, wherein nothing is, but what you list, may be written. The other consonant enough to this; *Nihil est intellectum, quod non prius erat in sensu*, that the Intellective soule is like an emptie roome, into which nothing can be admitted, but what passeth first through the gates of sense. The necessary consequences of these Axioms, were they true, would be these. Wee can vnderstand nothing, but what wee heare, see, smell, touch, or taste, nothing otherwise than it appeares to these senses. Doth sense then bring vs in loue with vertue? doth it make vs hate vice? or is the shape of good and evill imprinted vpon our sight, our hearing, or other organ? or how doe we gather the Sunne to be alwayes splendent, though it appeared red, or wanish in a foggie or duskie morning, or

or in the night appeare not at all? To say the *Active* vnderstanding doth refine the Phantasmes, or representations made by the Sense from all materiall conditions annexed to them, as drosse to mettall; as it no way meetes with the former, so neither can it fully put off the latter objected inconvenience. The reply it self, were it tryed by the touch as accurately as some haue done it, hath no fundamentall soliditie of pure Philosophicall truth, to cōmend it vnto forraigners, but a bare stamp of artificiall language, current onely by compact in the * Latine schooles, as brasse or leather tokens are in some particular places. The very inscription it selfe would be misliked in *Greece* or *Athens*, which never admitted any intelligible formes representatiue. Let such as haue coyned them, tell vs how they should be instampt vpon our vnderstandings by the *Phantasmes* after the same maner, that the *Phantasmes* are imprinted vpon the senses by sensible objects? so should the vnderstanding be a facultie as mecerely *passive* and brutish as *sense*, and the object of *sense* should be the principall agent in this worke. It is true (at least in our first contemplations) (though denied by * *Aristotelian* Interpreters of best note to be necessary in perfect *Contemplators*,) that as there is no actuall sight or vision but by beholding colours, so *non intelligimus nisi speculando phantasmata*, wee actually vnderstand not, but whiles wee speculate the *Phantasmes*. Yet hence it followeth not, that as vision, so intellection should be accomplished by *intromission* of the refined *phantasmes* into the vnderstanding, but rather by *extromission* of the intellectuall raies or beames into the *Phantasie*. Not altogether averse from this o-

* Vide Hieronymum pro-
uerbialem de
sensu & sen-
sibilibus.

* Accuram-
bimus, &c.

Sectio. 2.

pinion is an *acute Schuolemans* Interpretation of the former Axiom; *Intellectum conuerſi ad phantaſmata nihil aliud eſt, quam mouere imaginationem ad formationem Phantaſmatum. Forriensis in cap. 65. Aq. contra Gentiles.* Admitting then the *active* understanding doe irradiate, agitate, diuide, and compoſe the *phantasies*, I would demand whether it know the things represented before it behold their representations in the *phantasy*? If it knew them before, it had ſomewhat in it ſelfe which was not commended to it by *ſenſe*. Or if no understanding be gotten but by impreſſion of extracted *phantasies* or *intelligible formes* vpon the *paſſive* understanding: ſeeing this extraction is wrought in the *phantasy*, the understanding ſhould know no more than the *phantasy* doth, becauſe it hath nothing in it which was not firſt in the *phantasy* illuminated by the *active* understanding: nor could it euer reiect any information given in by the *phantasy* thus inlightned (as is ſuppoſed) by the nobleſt facultie of the reaſonable Soule.


* Vide Philippi Conſeruationem de perfectione verum.

2. * Others there be who haue well reſuted all *intelligible formes*, or *impreſſions* of *abſtract Phantaſies* vpon the understanding, which nevertheleſſe by going too farre againſt *Platonickall Ideas*, or *notions* imprinted by nature, haue made their owne opinion (otherwiſe allowable) obnoxious to the former inconveniences. Actual *Intellection* or *underſtanding* (to their apprehenſions) conſiſts wholly in the true imitation of things preſented, and then we are ſaid to vnderſtand, when the reaſonable ſoule, *Proteus*-like transformes herſelfe into new ſimilitudes; not when it puts on their forme, as it were already made fit for her.

her, by the *active* vnderstanding and the *phantasie*. All this being granted, the former difficulties still remaine: *first*, how we should rightly vnderstand the materiall entities never presented by sense: *secondly*, how the reasonable soule should make vndoubted triall, whether her own imitations of what *sense* presents vnto her, be exact and true. The great Philosopher himselfe, from whose discourses the former broken Axioms are borrowed, graunts that brute beasts haue no sense or apprehensions of their sensitive functions, although they haue oftentimes a more lively sense of externall objects than man hath; it is then mans peculiar to haue a true sense and iudgement of all his own functions, whether sensitive or intellectuall. This reflexed apprehension or *revisie* whether of sensitive impressions or intellectuall functions excited by them, necessarily supposeth some rule or copy pre-existent, by which their examination should be tryed. Impossible it is, this rule or copie should be taken from sense, or any actuall intellection by sense occasioned; both these being to be ruled or examined by it. *Regula autem est prior regulata.*

CHAP. XI.

How farre Platoes opinion may be admitted, that all Knowledge is but a kind of reminiscence, or calling th. t. to minde which was in some sort knowne before.

I.  PLATOES opinion (that all acquired science is but a kind of *reminiscence*) though it suppose a grosse error, is not altogether so erroneous, but that it may lead vs vnto that truth, from whose misapprehension happily

Seccio.2. pily it first sprung. That our soules whiles they liued (as he supposed long time they did) a single celestiall life, should be plentifully furnished with all manner of knowledge, but instantly loose all by matching with these harlotric bodies; was a conceit more wittie in him; than warrantable in vs, vnto whom God hath revealed the true reason of that *Probleme*; the desire of whose resolution enforced him to this supposall of the Soules existence before the bodie. More divine wee know by much then *Plato* could imagine any, was that knowledge wherewith our first Parents soule though concreated with his bodie, was instamped. Not *Aristotle* himselfe, with the helpe of all the Philosophers which had gone before him, not after his laborious workes *de Hist. animal.* could so readily haue invented names for living creatures, so well expressing their seuerall natures, as *Adam* (not a full day old) gaue them at their first appearance. Such notwithstanding as his was, might our knowledg of all things haue beene, vnlesse his fall, by Gods iust iudgement had beene our ruine. That oblivion then or obliuifaction wherein our soules as *Plato* dreames, are miserably drencht by their delapse into these bodily sinks of corruption, wee may more truely deriue from that pollution which we naturally draw from our first Parents; wherewith our soules at first commixture with our bodies are no lesse soiled, the characters of truth imprinted in them, no lesse obliterated, then if they had beene perpetually soakt in them, since the first creation. All of vs by nature seeke after knowledge, as an inheritance whereto we thinke we haue iust title, and auncient copies (could we reade them) of
the

the originall evidences which our auncestors sometimes had.

2. For what should impell vs to this sollicitous search, no humane wit can divine, vnlesse we graunt some such reliques or fragments of vniversall truth, once had but now lost, to reside yet in our collapsed natures, as oftentimes runne in our thoughts, whiles surprised with oblivion of some particulars which we much desire to call to minde. As wee cannot call ought to minde which we haue not actually and expressly knowne before : so is it impossible wee should certainly know any things actually or expressly whose *notion or Character* was not in some sort formerly imprinted in our *intellective* facultie. Remembrance, knowledge, (expresse or actuall) and these *ingrassed notions*, differ onely as *Adam*, *Seth*, and *Enoch* did, not by nature but in manner of descent. *Seth* had a father as well as *Enoch*, yet a father not begotten by a former father, but created. In like manner, *knowledge* expresse or acquired, cannot but proceede from knowledge pre-existent, not acquired or expresse, but implanted & vnapprehended. And as remembrance is but a reiteration of actuall knowledge, so is actuall knowledge but an apprehension of imprinted *notions* pre-existent, though latent. These two parts of *Platoes* assertion we must admit as absolutely true. *First*, We can vnderstand nothing without vs but by recourse vnto these Ideall *notions* which are within vs, not abstracted, or severed from vs, as he is wrongfully charged to haue taught. *Secondly*, As for a Master to seeke his fugitive servant amongst a multitude were vaine, vnlesse he had some pre-notions, marks, or notice

Sectio. 2.

tice of his shape or favour, or carried some picture drawne by others to compare with his face never seene by him before: so for vs to seeke the knowledge of any matters before vnkowne, vnlesse we had some modell or character of them framed by nature, would be altogether as bootlesse. Those Ideall notions whereof this Philosopher and his followers so much speake, are in true Divinitie the prints or characters of truth ingraven vpon our soules by the finger of our Creator. And so many of these prints or reliques of diuine impressions, as wee can distinctly hunt out, or discover, so much of Gods image is renewed in vs.

CHAP. XII.

After what manner the Ideall or ingrafted Notions are in the soule.

I.



The difficulties whose accurate discussion would cleare this whole businesse, are especially two: *first*, the manner of these notions inherence or implantations in our soules. *secondly*, by what meanes their distinct notice or apprehensions are suggested. Their opinion which thinke these characters (though latent) should be in our soules after the same manner as Letters written with the iuice of Onions, are in paper (though not legible) admitteth some difficultie. For were they so distinct & well severed in the soule, though not apparant; error would not be so rife when they appeare, nor should the sense delude the vnderstanding with such false shewes or resemblances as it often obtrudes vnto

vnto it: the flesh could not intice the spirit to embrace that for an vndoubted and inestimable good which hath lesse similitude with true felicitie, then a Cloud with *Iuno*. The favorers of the former opinion would perhaps replie, that the manner of the inherence of intellectuall characters in the soule might in some sort be such as hath beene said, though they be often mutually diffused one through another, as if two should write with the iuice of Onions vpon the same paper, the one not knowing what or where the other had written; or that their fashion by the soules too deepe immersion in this flexible matter might be so soiled, that they could not be read, but by confused coniectures, as letters written in moist paper; or it may be a *Platonicke* would require some chemicall purification of the soule vnto the extraction of the distinct and proper idea of truth: how ever it be, it is an error common to him and some Divines, but very inconsequent to other points of both their doctrines, that the soule of Man though truly immortall should be of the same nature with angelicall substances, which are neither apt physically to informe bodies, nor to participate of their infirmities, or to loose their first naturall light, although they were imprisoned or confined within them.

2. More pertinently to the point proposed it may be questioned whether every specificall nature, which we vnderstand or know, haue a distinct and severall character answering to it in the soule. Or whether the *fabricke* or compositure of the vnderstanding it selfe includes onely such a virtuall similitude to the *formes* or *essences* of all things, as the organ of every sensitive facultie

Sectio. 2. facultie doe to all the proper objects thereto belonging. The perception or representation of greene colours is not (I take it) made vpon any one part of the eye whose constitution hath more particular affinitie with greene then with blew or red: but the whole humour wherein vision is made, being homogeneous, hath not colour in it actually; is not more inclined to one then to another; framed of purpose as an *Æquilibrium* or indifferent receptacle of all impressions in that kinde; as apt, according to every part as any, to receiue the shape or image of any one colour as another. Nor doth the *common sense* perceiue sounds and colours by two *Heterogeneous* parts, whereof the one doth better symbolize with *hearing*, the other with *sight*: rather the internal constitution of this *facultie* includes an Homogeneous *æquabilitie* of affinitie vnto both these senses.

3. The soule of man being created after the image of God (in whom are all things) though of an indivisible and immortal nature, hath notwithstanding such a vertuall similitude of all things as the eye hath of colours, the *ear* of sounds, or the *common sense* of these & other sensibles, wooven by the finger of God in its essential constitution, or internal indissoluble temper. Out of mixt bodies are drawne by art *Quintessences*, whose substances (though subtile and homogeneous) virtually containe the force or efficacy of many ingredients. The same proportions which these *Quintessences* haue to their materials, hath the soule of man to all sensible creatures, of which it is the pure *extract* or perfection, in nature and essential qualities more resembling celestiall then sublunary substances.

ces, albeit virtually including as great affinity to lub-
lunaries as spirits or *Quintessences* doe to their com-
pounds out of which they were extracted. From this
vertuall similitude which our soules haue with all
things, springs our eager thirst after knowledge, which
is but a desire of intimate and intire acquaintance
with their nature and properties; besides which
meanes, there is in truth no other possible for them to
come acquainted with themselves. The more they
vnderstand of other things, the better they vnder-
stand themselves. Hence saith the Philosopher, *Intel-
lectus cum factus fuerit omnia, intelligit seipsum*, When
the vnderstanding is made all things, it vnderstands it selfe.
Nor could we take delight in the knowledge of any
thing, vlesse in knowing it the soule did know it
selfe, and become more intimate with it selfe. It is as
truely said *optimus*, as *proximus quisq; sibi*, nothing
could desire its owne preservation most, vnlesse its
owne *entitie* were to it selfe the best, and most to be de-
sired, if it knew rightly how to enioy it selfe. The rea-
son why *Simile gaudet simili*, is because the actuall sym-
pathie which mutually ariseth from presence of like
natures in creatures sensible or reasonable, causeth
their seuerall *identities* to reflect vpon themselves,
and each as it were to perfuse it selfe with its owne
goodnesse, which it liketh best, but whereof, without
such mutuall provocations it was vnapprehensiu or
vncapable; nothing can rightly ioy but in the right
fruition or enioyment of it selfe. Sense which is the
foundation of pleasure, is but a redoubling of the
sensitiue qualitie or temper vpon it selfe. Touch is
but an apprehension or feeling of its owne tactike
qualities

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qualities, being actually moved by other of the same kinde. If this motion be according to nature, it is pleasant, and this pleasure is but a reflection of the motive facultie vpon it selfe, or *motions* fruition of it selfe. The delight in like manner which we reape from contemplation, is but a reflection of these vertuall *ideas* or internall characters, which are instampt vpon the very substance of the soule, as the colour of fire is in *blades* newly come out of the forge. The divine nature hath fulnesse of ioy in himselfe and of himselfe, being all-sufficient to contemplate and intirely to enjoy his owne infinite goodnesse, without any externalls to cause or occasion such reflection as we neede. The Angelicall natures can thus likewise reflect vpon themselves and enjoy as much felicitie as they contemplate of their owne *entitie*, both which they haue from and in their Creator. The soule of man in as much as it hath some reliques of Gods image in it, must needes haue some seedes of morall, besides transcendentall goodnesse, neither of which it can of it selfe enjoy, because not able to reflect vpon it selfe, or contemplate the seedes of truth and goodnesse imprinted in it, without the helpe of some externalls sympathizing with them & provoking them to make some *Crisis* of their owne inherence. All the felicitie any nature is capable of, is the entire vncumbred fruition of its totall *entitie*; the onely meanes of mans fruition of himselfe or of his owne soule, is his knowledge. The full measure then of mans felicitie must consist in the mutuall penetrations & embracements of *entitie* and *knowledge*; when these be thus intimately and exactly commensurable according to every degree


gree of diuilibilitie which either of them hath, there can be no more addition of delight to the humane nature, than of water to a vessell full to the brimme. And seeing as well our *entitie* as *knowledge* doth essentially and intirely depend on God, it is impossible our ioyes should be full, vntill we see him, and our selues in him. In this life as we know, so are we happie but in part, or rather *in spe* not *in re*, when we shall know as we are knowne, we shall be wholly and fully happy. In the meane time to bring our soules acquainted with other of Gods workes, or themselves wherein they see him darkly as in a glasse, the helpe or ministry of sensitiue informations is alway or to most men necessary. For as a cunning *architect* may contriue the exact frame of a pallace, or a Geographer the proportion or fashion of a Country in his phantasie, and yet cannot expresse the true conceit of either vnto others but by some visible Mappe or Modell: so although the intellectuall soule beare the exact similitude of all things imprinted in its substance, yet is it not able to expresse or represent it to it selfe, but by sensitiue formes or phantasmes, whose representation sometimes please, sometimes dislike this supream facultie, as the apprentice his workmanship oftentimes doth his Master, because not conformable to that artificiall *idea* which he hath in his phantasie. Nor can it any way disparage this similitude that the *architect*, and he to whom the *representation* is made, are two diuers parties; for so the intellectuall soule, though but one in the worke of vnderstanding, vndergoes two parts; one to represent, another to iudge of the representation; the latter is wholly its owne. In performing

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ming the former it alwayes vseth the helpe and ministry of sense. We may conclude then as we began; *It is impossible the vnderstanding should be displeased with any sensitive representation, or censure of their suggestions, either as false or vnperfect, vnlesse it had some ideall rule or copie pre-existent, from which the disproued representations doe varie.* Although it cannot apprehend this copie distinctly, or discern the true figure of its owne idea, vntill it light vpon some phantasme, or sensible modell, that may exactly fit or cause it reflect vpon it selfe. Thus by touching the former difficultie as neerly and closely as we could, and this Treatise would permit, we haue beene enforced in a manner to grate vpon the second which now presents it selfe to more particular and full discussion.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the office or service which the Phantasie performes vnto the actiue vnderstanding or contemplatiue facultie, for the right apprehension or discernement of truths specially vsensible.

- I.  He Aristotelian Maxime, *Non intelligimus nisi speculando phantasmata*, Wee doe not actually and distinctly vnderstand, but by speculation of Phantasmes; no Platonicke, I take it, would deny, but whether the Phantasmes rowse or start the latent notions, or rather be stirred or rowsed themselues by the necessary cōnexion w^{ch} the phantasie hath with the vnderstanding, thus seeking to expresse or figure its owne indefinite conceits, is questioned

sitioned by some which deny all effluxions from objects sensible, or at least all permanent impressions of their *formes*, or *images* vpon the organs of sense. Whiles sensible objects (for example, *colours*) are present, they grant a resultance of such a forme or stampe of them in the eye, as the seale imprinteth in the wax, which notwithstanding straight way vanisheth with the remouall of the object, onely the sensitiue facultie (in their Philosophy) being thus farre acquainted with them, can transforme it selfe at its pleasure into the same likenesse againe, as a cunning Actor can imitate any mans motions, speech, or gesture, whom he hath heard or seene, and the more he converseth with him, the better will his imitation be. This manner of producing *phantasmes* I must confesse is most agreeable to the vsuall manner of producing effects more reall, which haue no sensible forme or shape. Thus when one *yawnes*, another *yawnes*, and many motions begun in one, excite the like in others, not by impressions of their formes, but by meere imitation. The bloud of many beasts will rise at the sight of red colours, whose formes or images cannot be imprinted vpon it, because more red than they. But bloud, being like them, it is excited by their presence or representation made in the eye; and so may this *forme*, or representation it selfe be onely excited by the presence of the reall object. In like manner may the actual motion or representation of the *phantasme*, excite the intellectuall *notion* answering to it. For, the intellectuall facultie, being more actiue then sense, may from the vertuall similitude which it hath with all things, put on the actual shape of any which shall be

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represented, or suggested to it. The manner we may conceiue to be such as if the eye could represent any colour being once named, without the presence of a reall object. By this declaration we may conceiue how the *phantasmes* doe raise a conceit of an higher or different nature, then they formally represent. As red colours doe not onely produce their owne resemblance in the eye, but withall stir or moue the blood; so attentive inspection of sensible effects most exactly represented in the *phantasie*, may ingender a conceit of an invisible and latent cause, which we cannot distinctly figure or expresse, and yet be more ravished with the consideration of it, then with the exactest representations possible of that which caused it. The manner of our delight in this case is wrought as it were by a secret sympathie or *contract* not apprehended, as shall hereafter be declared. The like *symptomatically* conceits oftentimes accompany the *formall* representations of meere sense; as sight of the Wolfe imprints with his bodily shape a terror in the silly Lambe, whereof there can be no distinct or formall representation. So with the shape or physiognomie of some men, a secret dislike doth often insinuate it selfe into our phantasies, of which we can giue no better reason than the *Epigrammatist* doth, though that no better than the Lambe perhaps could giue why he flies the Wolfe, could this silly creature speake:

*Non amo te (Sabidi) nec possum dicere quare,
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.*

*I loue thee nought, Sabidius, ne can I tell thee why.
Tis all I wote, I loue thee not, ne can I loue thee, I.*

2. It is questionable whether motion make any distinct impression, or representation vpon the senses, or affect them onely by concomitancie with obiects properly sensible, especially with the senses of *sight* and *touch*. Howsoever it be, apprehension of time we haue small or none, saue onely by *motion*; nor can we limit or bound the parts of the one but by designing some definite and constant parts of the other. He that neither dreames nor stirres whiles he sleepes by night, thinkes he is but newly lain downe when he awakes; whereas he that lies waking the same time, would thinke a short night longer than a summers day. How the yeare goes about we could not tell, but by the motions of the heavens; what a yeare is we cannot better expresse, than by the Sunnes revolution from some point of the *Zodiack* to the same; nor what a day is but by its circumvolution in a part of the *Equinoctiall*, or other paralell circle. An houre likewise we define by the elevation of the *Zodiack* fifteene degrees aboue the *Horizon*. Thus the Philosopher defineth time by motion numbred or distinguished into parts, which definition notwithstanding is not *essentiall* but *causall* or *connotative*. For as place surmounts all magnitude or surface physicall (seeing the highest sphere is as properly in its place as any lower) so time is transcendent to all kind of motion, and hath a conceit more abstract and metaphysicall, though not easie to be expressed without motion. *Ioshua* in pursuing the *Amorites* lost no time by the Sunnes standing still; nor should we Students gaine any, albeit the heavens should double their wonted pace, or the Starres elevate themselves thirtie degrees in the space, a com-

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mon - houre - glasse is in running. Or though both clockes and houre-glasses moved twice as swiftly, as now they doe, time would be the same, but so could not the distinction or apprehension of it be to vs, vnlesse we knew in what proportion their swiftnesse encreased; certaine withall that they had an equall and constant course. If vpon their variation or vnconstancie we should haue recourse vnto the motions of our owne soules or bodies, or keepe a perpetuall account of time (as for a space Musicians doe) with our hands; these would deceiue vs. The same motions or bodily agitations seeme much longer to men well nigh wearied, than to such as are lustie or fresh. Solitarinesse without corporall employment seemes long and tedious to illiterate soules, so doth vaine iangling or toyings reall or verball to minds bent for contemplation, because in this latter case, men are enforced to take too deepe notice of externall motions; in the former, of their owne vnsetled cogitations or working phantasies. All sicknesses, paines, or eager expectations, whether of release from evils, or of accomplishing vehement desires or hopes, doe double or treble the length of time in our conceit according to the excesse of paines or pleasure felt or expected. The reason is because the notice of every severall motion is more deepe and pearcing, and the motions are in a manner multiplied. In sicknesse there is a conflict betwixt nature and the offensive humour, both which haue their severall swayes or motions. In expectation likewise the soule is moued two wayes, and being thus affected the difference betwixt our conceit of times length, and theirs that passe the time in sport and

and merriment, is much what such as is betweene their progresses or mensurations which runne the same race for length, the one directly and by a streight plaine way in summer, the other by way of indenture, or in winter, or in a deepe soyle. All these argue time to haue a nature of its owne distinct from motion more abstract and immateriall. And if we consider it onely indefinitely or vnder the generall conceit of *space* contradistinct to *distance local*, the conceit of it is as familiar & obvious as of any thing sensible, but very hard to define what it is distinctly, as S. Augustine who hath sifted this point as accurately as any Philosopher could doe, well obserues.

3. ^aWhat is there either more familiar or better knowne in ordinary discourse than time? And surely we understand our selues when we mention it, wee doe not mistake others when wee heare them talke of it. What then is time? If no man aske me this Question, I can tell. But if any man shall urge me to expresse the nature of it, I am at a stand. He finally concludes, That time future or to come cannot properly be said long, because it is not. But our expectation of it (who haue soules, whose soules likewise haue their true and proper duration) is long. Time past likewise is not properly long, but our memory of that which is past, and now is not, continues still and is long*.

^a Quid autem familiarius, & notius in loquendo commemoramus, quam tempus? Et intelligimus utique cum id loquimur, intelligimus etiam cum alio loquente id audimus. Quid ergo est tempus? Si nemo ex me quaer-

rat, scio, si quaerenti explicare velim, nescio. Lib. Confess. 11. cap. 14. Sed quomodo minuitur, aut consumitur futurum, quod nondum est? aut quomodo crescit praeteritum, quod iam non est? nisi quia in animo, qui illud agit, tria sunt. Nam expectat, & attendit, & meminit; ut id quod expectat, per id quod attendit, transeat in id quod meminerit. Quis igitur negat futura nondum esse? sed tamen iam est in animo expectatio futurorum. Et quis negat praeterita iam non esse? sed tamen adhuc est in animo memoria praeteritorum. Et quis negat praesens tempus carere spatio, quia in praeterito praeteritum, sed tamen perdurat attentio per quam pergat abesse quod aderit. Non igitur longum tempus futurum quod non est, sed longum futurum, longa expectatio futuri est. Neque longum tempus praeteritum, quod non est, sed longum praeteritum, longa memoria praeteriti est. *Vide Plotinum Ennead. 3. lib. 7.

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As we could not measure or account motions, vnlesse our soules had some internall motions, or *numerable designements*, nor conceiue of time without an imbred sense of our owne duration or extension of our existence : So neither could we vnderstand any thing without vs, vnlesse we had some vertuall similitude of them within vs, as homogeneous and commensurable to their formes or essences, as our internall duration is to the duration of externalls. As much as in this whole discourse we doe, he did suppose which said *Homo est mensura rerum omnium*, Man is the measure of all things. Howbeit to the distinct expression of these internall similitudes, or latent *measures* of all things the correspondency of *Phantasmes* either borrowed from sense, or framed by imitation of sensibles, wherwith our soules haue beene acquainted, is alway necessary. For this reason in this life we cannot apprehend, at least not comprehend, things vn sensible and immateriall in such manner as we doe matters sensible, especially visible. But to recompence this defect, the reasonable soule is more affected with the tacite indefinite suggestions, or internall *notions* of some things vn sensible indistinctly notified, than with any sensitiue representations. And no marvaile, seing the similitude betwixt her and them, is more immediate and exact, their sympathie (though secret) more internall, their kindred proper and intire. With sensitive objects she hath onely alliance or affinity by matching with corporall organs, without whose mediation no bodily or materiall natures finde any accessse vnto her, nor can she be delighted with their presence, vnlesse shee see them, or distinctly view their proper shapes

shapes or figures. Discourses of colours doe little delight a blind man, although his other senses be exact; he that is deafe is as incompetent a judge of soundes, albeit indued with perfect sight and accurate knowledge of all colours. In respect onely of these or other proper obiects of sense, that common *Maxime* in the proprietic of speech, is true; *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius erat in sensu*, that is, *There can be no proper intellectuall cōscit of things sensible, vnlesse they be first formally represented to sense and distinctly perceiued by it.* Fully equivalent to this *Maxime* thus limited (whether for vse or extent) is that other *Maxime*; *Deficiente sensu deficit eiusdem sensus scientia*; *For him that is blind or deafe from his natiuitie, to be either a skilfull painter or musician, it is impossible.* Howsoever, as well for attaining such knowledge of things immateriall as in this life we haue, or for rightly conceiuing of things sensible, the *phantasie* serues as a glasse to the vnderstanding, and the motion or agitation of *phantasmes*, as a *Nomenclator* to the inherent *notions*, whose notice or expresseion we seeke, whose apprehension till we light on *phantasmes* fitting, is but such as we haue of matters which we well know we haue forgotten, but cannot distinctly call to minde. Yet, if other shall guesse or name diuers persons or places (suppose the names of men or Cities, were the matters we had forgotten and would call to minde) we can easily discern whether they misse or hit, when they goe neere, or wide of that we seeke, because in hitting or coming neere they *start* either the former distinct representation we had of it, or some speciall circumstance that drawes it nearer to the second birth, or new ap-
pre-


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prehension. After the same manner doth the intellectuall ingrafted *notion*, before it be distinctly apprehended, either mislike the suggestion of sundry *phantasmes*, as apt rather to smother or obscure than to manifest or expresse it, or like of others as comming neere it, or being some necessary adiunct of it: but finally approues onely such as haue exact correspondency with it, or cleerely represent it to it selfe or the intellectuall facultie wherein it resides or moues. Hence perhaps may that maine question of questions be assoyled, *How wee become certainly perswaded of any truth*: this certaintie can never be wrought but by a *repercussion* of the ingrafted *notion* vpon it selfe. Thus in all contemplations fully evident & certaine, we feele a gratefull penetration betweene the obiect knowne, and the facultie knowing, and as it were a fastning of the truth found, vnto that *part* of the soule, whence the desire of it sprung. The soule it selfe by this penetration becomes so fully satisfied, that the inclination which before wrought outwardly, seeking where to rest, delights now rather to retire inwardly and enioy it selfe. Our manner of examining the certainty of truth supposed to be found out is by a kinde of *Arietation*, a tryall which floating conceits or *phantasmes* not perpendicularly settled vpon the intellectuall *notion* cannot abide. And without convenient and settled *phantasmes* the intellectuall intentions glaunce away without reflection or repercussion, and consequently without all sense or notice of the *Ideall* rules or *notions* whence they flow as lines from their *center*. Some glimerings they may leaue of their indefinite truth, none of their goodnesse, as the Sunne-beames leaue

leau some light or impressiō of light in the middle or vpper region of the aire, none of heat vntill it meet with some solid bodie to reflect them.

CHAPTER XIII.

What qualifications are required in the Phantasie or passive vnderstanding for performing its dutie to the active vnderstanding, specially for the right representation of matters morall or spirituall.

I.  Or avoiding of erroneous conceites as well in matters sensible as immateriall, it would be requisite to knowe somewhat more particularly, what qualification is required of the *phantasie*, what of the whole humane soule, what peculiarly of the intellectuall, and supreme facultie which sets all the rest a working, and calls all their severall operations to precise examination and strict account. Seeing every thing almost that is, hath some affinitie with others, and nothing can be knowne without speculation of *phantasmes*, it will be hard to vnderstand either more excellent and transcendent natures truely, or ordinary matters fully, without varietie of *phantasmes*. The next thing that can be required in the *phantasie* thus furnished with store of modellis or representations, is, that it be stayed or settled.

*Non sum adeo informis nuper me in littore vidi,
Cum placidum ventis stare mare;*

I am

Sectio.2. *I am not so ill favoured, I saw my selfe ere while,
In calmer sea, a glasse most true, which can no man beguile;*

* *Virgil.* saith the *Shepherd* in the * *Poet*. But who hath scene his bodily shape at any time in a raging Sea, or swelling streame, although that concourse or efficiency, which our faces or bodies afford to the production of their owne images or similitudes, be in all places, and all times the same. So is the irradiation or agency of the active vnderstanding in the Philosophers opinion perpetuall, nor works it by fits or glimering. So we were alwayes alike apt to learne or apprehend, it is alwayes alike readie to make vs vnderstand. For as nothing can be weary of its essence, so neither can the intellectuall facultie be of this its proper operation, which as the Philosopher thinkes, is the selfe same with its essence. The proper essence and operation of it, is to diffuse these intellectuall rayes or ingrafted notions of truth: but these we alwayes apprehend not, we remember not their apprehensions, because the passive or fashionable vnderstanding (which some take to be all one with the phantasie) is subiect to change and corruption, often so ill disposed, that either no representations are made in it, or els such as are false and vnperfect. This I take to be the Philosophers meaning in these words; *Οὐ μνημονεύομεν δὲ ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀπαθὲς, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτός, καὶ ἄνευ τούτου οὐδὲν νοεῖ.* To thinke he should here give a reason, why our soules after separations from their bodies remēber not what they knew in them, would make his soule I am perswaded, yet to smile, could it but reade the Interpreters glosses vpon these wordes to this purpose.

Not

Not to insist vpon his authoritie, nor to wrangle about his particular meaning in this place, which perhaps he purposely left obscure and doubtfull, all that can be gathered from his reason or from experience is this, that the humane *soule* hath a perpetuall operation independent of the body, which sufficiently proues it to be immortall; but so is not humane knowledge, because in the production of it the *soule* must be patient as well as agent, and doth not worke vpon it selfe directly, but by repercussion or reflection. And seeing these are not wrought without some concurrence of the *phantasie*, whose operations as it selfe is, are subiect to corruption and change, our *intellection* whether it be made by imitation or impression of *phantasmies* refined, cannot be perpetuall or immortall.

2. That potentialitie or aptitude which the *soule* hath to be linckt, and made one substance with the body, must needs abate some part of that perfection which is in Angels. They are pure *actes* and perpetually apprehend their owne perpetuall operations: the *soule* of man hath an immortall desire to doe the like, but is held downe by the earthly and mortall body, whose motions and vnruely appetites doe still counter-sway these inbred desires, which the *soule* hath to contemplate her selfe, as containing the ingrafted *notions*, or similitude of all things. Hence is that which the same Philosopher elsewhere excellently obserues, that *sense* and *prudence* doe in a manner voluntarily result from the stay or settled estate of the *soule* without variation. Now these disturbances, or turbulent motions of the *soule* which hinder knowledge

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ledge, arise for the most part from alliance with the body, or from the allurements of externall senses. For this reason, as we said, before when bodily calamitie or affliction cut off the hopes of temporary or sensuall pleasure, and vntie or burst the strings which held vs fast vnto the pomps or vanities of the world: the ingrafted *notions* of Gods power or providence, the naturall dictates of conscience, haue libertie and opportunitie to *notifie* and expresse themselves. Then as *Plinie* sayth, we know our selues to be but men, and our soules begin to vnderstand themselves, and their former errors; they now see what precious seede was sowne in them, so they had not suffered it to be smothered, and choaked with worldly cares, nor suffered it to starue by nourishing vaine hopes of reaping forraine pleasures. And yet even whiles the reasonable soule condemnes the senses for hiding this inestimable treasure of *ingrafted knowledge*, shee cannot discover it without their helpe; the representation is alwayes effected by some concourse of the *phantasie*, in which it is first begun, as bodily paine or maladie oftentimes manifestes it selfe not in the part which is principally affected, but in some other which hath some neere bond of nature, or peculiar sympathie with it. And the former fault, to speake the truth, is not in sense or *phantasie*, but in the reasonable soule which suffers her selfe to be misled by these her servants, whose right nurture or *making* for hunting out latent truthes, is in her power. But as the *French* by often vsing the *Switzers* service vpon some especiall occasions, were sometime * said to haue brought themselves to such a passe, that they could not

* *Machia-
vil.*


not manage any warre without them: so the reasonable soule being vpon necessity beholding to externall senses for perceiving objects sensible, by too much relying vpon their informations disables her selfe for more noble employments. The strict *uxorius* confederacy which is too oft, enters with these two grosse senses *touch* and *taste*, and her too much familiaritie with their adherents, vtterly dissolues her native correspondency or acquaintance with intellectuall or more noble essences, which are of the same descent and progenie with her. Thus abused or misinformed as great men are vually by their servants, she neither can desire, conceiue, nor entertaine truth spirituall, but after a fashion meereley carnall. The originall or manner of these preiudices wherewith this image of God is by the suggestions of sense surprised, are but such as comon experience witnesseth to be most rife in every particular sense: the right frame or constitution of whose organs, alwayes suppose a vacuities of those reall qualities, whereof they are sole competent, and should be indifferent judges. For if any one of these qualities haue once gotten possession, and planted it selfe in the organ, it excludes all the rest, or makes what composition it listeth, often charging the externall sense with that, wherof it selfe is sole cause. As if any grosse or malignant humor haue incorporated it selfe into the tongue or palate, it either quite takes away all taste of meates or drinckes, or makes such as are indeede sweete and pleasant, seeme iust such as it selfe is. Or if any tincture of brighter colours, whereon we haue long gazed, sticke in our eyes, it either dazells our sight, or makes vs thinke other objects

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objects to be of the same hew with that whence it was taken. In like manner doth the contagion of every sense, or studies vnto whose pleasures we are partially or too much addicted, dissolve that æquilibrium or vertuall proportion, which our soules haue with all things, and whereby they are qualified for vnderstanding their natures, essences, or properties. Bewitching delight in Mathematicall speculations (though of all sensibles these be most abstract and immateriall) hath beene as a false glasse to pervert the sight of some in matters philosophicall, and cause them transforme materiall naturall bodies into imaginary or motionlesse figures. From this roote spring all transformations of the diuine nature, or attributes, whether in the Heathen, the Romanists, or true professors. Of the particular branches, with the two remedies to prevent their growth (*Purification of the heart, and Sublimation of our spirit*) somewhat shall be said by Gods assistance in some Treatises following. Thus much onely was here to be præmised, That our ingrafted notions of Gods goodnesse or inclinations either naturally are, or by euill custome become indefinite and indistinct, more flexible to goodnesse sensible, than to intellectuall; to carnall, than to spirituall; alwayes apt to settle, or continue their course, where they finde first issue or vent, and to be most addicted to their olde acquaintance.

CHAPTER XV.

In what sense it is commonly sayd that Sense is of particulars and the vnderstanding of vniversalls. Of the manner how sense misinformes the vnderstanding, with some generall advertisements how to prevent its misinformations.

I.  Hat pit wherein *Democritus* imagined Truth to be buried, was questionlesse the heart of man. Not much vnlike vnto his riddle, was the saying of the wise King; *Counsell in the heart of man is like deepe water, but a man of vnderstanding will draw it out.* Prov. 20. vers. 5. But he must be a man of vnderstanding indeed, that can draw any consultations God-ward out of his owne heart. The reliques of Gods image in vs, are so buryed in sense, that no intellectuall conceit of his goodnesse can be fashioned without his especiall providence, & the best that can be fashioned by his providence, must be revived by his spirit.

2. *Sense*, saith the Philosopher, is of Particulars; and every Particular in his language, though presented to sense, but as one, includes an heape, or cluster of ingredients, or circumstances; every one in nature much different from other. We see the quantitie, the colour, shape, and proportion of *Socrates*, with other adherents not meere *Socrates*, or the Individuall humane essence. Sense then is of concretes or congeists, not of abstracts, or essences, whether apprehended as vniversall, indefinite, or singularized. Those things

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we are properly laid to *vnderstand*, whose natures, or entities are represented vnto vs as pure, and immixt, and as it were dissolued from the bundle, wherein they were apprehended onely in grosse by sense. Whatsoever we discern can be truely avouched, or denied of any thing thus considered apart, and limited by its owne proper bounds, must needs be avouched, or denied of every like nature so considered. And seeing things are thus considered by the vnderstanding onely, to whom this power of ventilating, and sifting *Phantasmes*, or of dissolving, or severing those combinations which delude sense, properly belongs; Intellection, or vnderstanding is said to be of Vniversalls, not of Particulars. Every nature thus abstracted, or conceived onely by it selfe, without any forraigne adherents, or admixture, serues as a common measure for comprehending all of the same kinde, and is apt to *found* an vniversall Rule, or definition. The falshood, or imperfection of all Rules suppose some precedent defect in the abstracting, or dissolving the parts, or ingredients of sensitiue representations. Many things we cannot rightly, or perfectly conceiue but by composition of *phantasmes*, which can never be rightly compounded, vnlesse they be first rightly dissevered, or abstracted. Sometimes we may attribute that to one nature, or ingredient, which is proper to some other, linked with it in the same subiect, but not discerned; and then the observation is false, or true onely *ex Accidente*; *vt Musicus adificat*; as if a man should thinke a Metropolitane should doe that as priue Counsellor, which belongs vnto his spirituall place, because the actions of both kindes

kindes proceede from one and the same partie, who notwithstanding is indued with a twofold authoritie. Sometimes againe we may attribute that to one circumstance, or ingredient, which ioynly issues from two, or more. And in this case the Rule failes, when the Conjunction is dissolved. As if we should thinke the Moone should alwayes be Eclips't when it is in the full, or when after exact calculation it is found to haue the same distance from the Sunne, which had beene noted by vs in two or three former Eclipses. For equality of the Moones distance from the Sunne, vnlesse it fall out in the *Eclipticke line*, is not sufficient to inferre this effect, if an Eclipse, or deficiency may properly be tearmed an effect. This is a rule most vniuersall, and transcendent [*That every Rule which holdes true in some cases, and failes in others, is taken from sensitiue observations, or presentments not perfectly sifted, or abstracted, whose ingredients notwithstanding dissociate themselves in those particulars, wherein they faile.*] Thus Hippocrates Rules of Windes, and Waters held true in those Regions, wherein he made his observations, but not in ours: because the soyle, which lay East, West, North, or South of his habitation was of a different temper from those Countries, which haue the like situation (in respect of the Heavens) from vs. Many rules againe are oftentimes not acknowledged so generall as they are; because we take some concurrence of circumstances, or accidents, or somewhat annexed vnto the latent nature, whence the effect is deriued, as a concause, or necessary condition, when as it was onely present, not necessary to the event. Thus many people in this Land are afraid to begin a

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good worke vpon the same day, that *Innocents* day fell on the yeare before: because they held the circumstance of time as a necessary concurrent to prosperous proceedings. And vnlesse experience did teach the contrary, a meere disputant would hardly graunt hot water could quench fire; because it wants that qualitie, which may well seeme to be as a necessary concurrent to the destruction of the contrary forme. The evidence of this event hath occasioned Philosophers to obserue a propertie in the fire distinct from heate, and another in the water distinct from colde, perhaps in part from moisture. Which properties sense without the helpe of vnderstanding could never haue distinguished from heate or cold. Thus are heate and cold for want of like abstraction taken for those qualities, wherein the Medicinall vertue of hearbs or other physicall simples properly consists. He that neuer had seene any creatures indued with sense, and motion, but such as with these haue reason; no reasonable creatures but *Ethiopians*, nor blacknesse in any subiect, but in this kinde of men, would imagine all those to be one, or each to inferre others presence. And if the vnderstanding should not vpon new observations correct sense, these collections would presently offer themselues. [*Whatsoever hath sense, or motion, or is blacke, is indued with reason, and discourse; [Whatsoever is not capable of these latter adiuncts is incapable of the former]*]. But once observing motion, or sense in many creatures wanting the vse of speech, or observing many men whose complexion is farre from blacke, or blacknesse in diuerse subiects, which neither haue life, motion, sense, or reason; the abstracti-

on of each from other offering it selfe, would manifest the folly of former inferences. Generally, the more in number, and more different in nature the subjects be, wherein we obserue any accident, or propertie: the more easie and evident is the abstraction of it from others, with which it often hath coniunction. The true reason why * Mathematicall rules are so perspicuous and evident, is because lines and figures are found in every matter, that is subiect to sense, as numbers and vnities accompany all things we can vnderstand. Quantitie we may finde in many bodies without any such concomitance, as it had in others. For sundry substances much differing in all things else, agree onely in shape, or figure. But where one attribute, or qualitie is linked with another in all, or most subjects, wherein either can be found, the distinction betweene them is more difficult, vnlesse they belong to severall senses, or so belonging we vsually confound their causes, or obserue small diversitie betwixt them. Seing permanent colours are not vsually seene but in mixt bodies, and all mixture is wrought by heate and colde, moysture and drinesse; we often imagine the diversity of colours should arise from the diverse mixture of these prime qualities (as they are reputed) when as the diversitie indeed is from the mixture of two more simple, more immateriall, and more generall and prime. As light and darkenesse were first created: so their of-springs, or propagations (*Opacitie* and *Perspicuitie*) haue first place in all bodies, alike communicable, to single, or compounded, to corruptible, or incorruptible substances. There is no mixt body without their mixture, and oftentimes

* *Algazel*
in his *Logicke*.

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* Vide Antonium Scar-
milion de
Coloribus.

where the one is really, the other there will be by participation, whether in the elements, or in bodies perfectly, or imperfectly mixt. * From the different proportions of their mixtures, or combinations ariseth all diversitie of colours. It skilleth not whether the fire were hot or cold, or whether the coales were dry or moytt, so the one be bright, and the other sootie or dustie; the flame at first kindling will seeme blacke, afterward reddish, or blewish, lastly yellow, and splendent. The originall of reall colours (as they call them) is no other, onely the perspicuitie, and opacitie, whence they spring are more permanent, as being deeper incorporated into the matter, and the bond of their mixture more firme.

3. Most objects (as they are presented to vs by sense) resemble the first *Chaos*, or confused Masse. The vnderstanding by lifting, and ventilating the severall ingredients, and assigning such as are of like natures (sorted together) to their severall, and proper places, imitates the great Creator of the world in extracting light out of darkenesse, and distinct bodies out of confused heapes, and pure celestiall substances out of earthly drosse. The right constitution of every Art or Science, is a kinde of Creation, and their Inventors come nearest to God in wisdom; yet not herein to glory, or reioyce, saue onely that by this cleare resolution of every effect, or object into its simple and prime Elements, the beames of the Creators wisdom, and distillations of his goodnesse, which lay buried in the confused Congests, which sense presents, become cleare and sensible, if the winde be once touched with grace, which should never

ver be excluded, but still implored in the search of what truth soever. For no truth can be so meane, or slender, but being made cleare, and evident, it may elevate the minde, to which it so appeares, to contemplation of the first truth, and is as a step or approach to that light, which is inaccessible. Nor was it the search, no not the curious search of Sciences naturall, Astrologically, or Politicke, but the professors slouthfull readinesse to relie vpon the representations of sense not accurately sifted, from which these three maine streames of Atheisme before mentioned did first issue. All three (with the *source* of Superstition, or Idolatrie to be prosecuted in the next * Discourse,) we may deriue from a further head, then there we did, and somewhat more particular and proper, then was now intimated.

* Cap. 18.
Sect. 3.

4. It is a dictate of nature engrafted in all [*That every thing, which before was not, must have a cause of its now being*]. And if the cause manifesteth not it selfe in the production, we are ready by nature to father the effect vpon that, which is represented by sense as nearest vnto it. Thus the Philosopher tooke the matter, the Astrologer the starres for sole or chiefe causes of all things: the Politician his owne plots for principall accomplishers of all those proiects, whereto they concur as the dropping of a petty Conduit to the overflow of a mightie river, out of which the whole streame, which feeds it, and many other, was first cut. And if the event be such, as hath no permanent duration, or fixt seate, but falls out now and then without any certaine observation; the time, and place, wherein it was brought forth, are vsually suppo-

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sed to be sole compartners in the begetting, or conceiving of it; and shall according to the goodnesse, or badnesse of this their supposed broode, reape the same praise or dispraise, the same thanks or imprecations, which Parents, or Tutors haue for furnishing the Common-weale with towardly, or vngracious plants.

5. Nor doth sense entise vnto Atheisme, or Idolatrie, onely by putting that visuall fallacie of *non causa pro causa* vpon the vnobseruant. But this error supposed, seeing the linke betwixt causes, and their effects is most strict, the multiplicite of the one suggests a multiplicite of the other. So doth every tearme of Relation multiplied in the Individuall, occasion vs to conceive a like number of correlatiues. The same error often insinuates it selfe into the proper acts of vnderstanding. For no things in Nature truely diuerse can be so indiuisibly, or essentially continued in representations made by sense, as the object, or nature conceived by vs, and our intellectuall conceit of it: no things really different more apt, than these to present themselves as one. Now seeing our vnderstandings cannot comprehend the entire entitie of many natures in themselves most intelligible by one concept, but must view them peece-meale, as we doe many sided bodics, or measure them by reiteration of the same or like acts, as we doe large quantities by often application of the same palme or spanne. We slide by this meanes into a common error of imagining as many distinct natures conceived, as we frame concepts of it, being indeed but one, and the same. Thus doth error become circular; for by conceiving things

things by nature diverse, which are represented in one heape or cluster, or mutually linked together, to be but one; we come to imagine that, which is but one, to be many. Sometimes we imagine a diversitie in the cause, which is still one, and the same, from * diversitie of *Place* and *Time*, which intrude themselves into our concept of it: And sometimes againe an unitie, or Identitie of causes, where there is great diversitie, from the unitie of time, of place, of temporary or locall adherents, or other correlations alwaies united in our conceit. The manner of the Heathens error mentioned by *S. Austin*, was the same, onely different in the matter. *Aliquando unum Deum res plures: aliquando unam rem Deos plures faciunt**. If these errors usually obtrude themselves in matters sensible, whereof we have distinct, and formall representations, their insinuations must needs be more frequent in matters meerely intellectuall, of which we can have no specificall resemblance, but must be enforced to mould them in some sensible concept. Things rare and admirable, though in their own nature visible, yet not seene by vs, but knowne onely by report or fame, we cannot better apprehend, then by comparing them with the best we know of the same kinde.

* See cap. 18. Sect. 3.

* *August. de Civit. Dei. lib. 7. c. 16.*

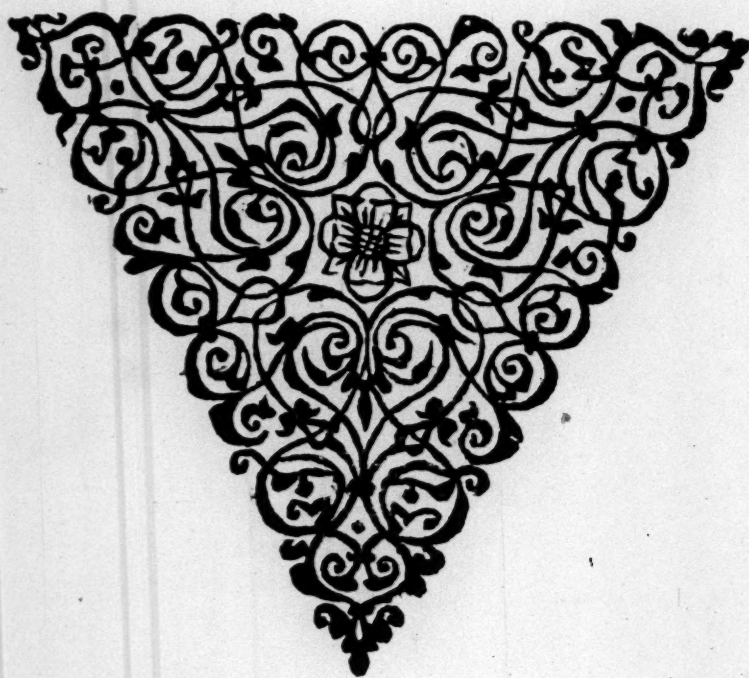
*Vrbem quam Romam dicunt, Melibæe, putavi,
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem.*

*Foole that I was, great Empreſſe Rome be crown'd with
(loftie Towers,
I ween'd it haue beene ſome Market Towne, not much
(vnlike to ours.
Though*

then others for bringing forth a more lively conceite of his vnconceivable glory, or a more distinct apprehension of his incomprehensible wisdom, or maiestie, or more determinate notice of his immensitie, or infinitie: but of these hereafter.

6. The summe of this Discourse is to admonish every one, that meditates on God, or his attributes, to take heede to his imaginations. For besides the aforementioned puritie of heart, the intention of minde, or vnderstanding to ventilate, sift, or illuminate *phantasmes* borrowed from sense, there is required a vigilant attention in the iudicative facultie: otherwise the same errors, which happen in recalling things long forgotten to minde, or dreames will surprize our waking Imaginations of God, or matters divine. He that would remember *Timotheus*, *Theodorus*, or *Orosius*, vnlesse his apprehension of their names haue beene formerly very distinct, and his present examination attentive, would easily entertaine in stead of them *Theotimus*, *Dorotheus*, or *Osoarius*. In men ignorant of Latine Etymologies, *conference* will sometimes be taken for *confidence*, *offence* for *defence*, &c. Now our knowledge of matters vsensible, being (as I said before) like vnto *reminiscence*, in that we haue but an indefinite or vndeterminate *notion* of their natures, and qualities; and herein short of them, that we never had an expresse, or actuall *notion*, wherby to examine their resemblances: the substitution of any thing, which hath ordinary similitude with them, will hardly be avoyded without great attention. The manner of many errors in this kinde differs onely in degree from such delusions as fall out in dreames; wherein our
ap-

Se&io.2. apprehensions of proper sensibles are most quicke, and lively, but their compositions, or suggestions sometimes ridiculous, and absurd. Such was the temper of the Heathen in respect of this Polypragmaticall age. Many effects, which moue nor vs, made deepe impression of a Deitie, which they strangely multiplied, or transformed.





SECTION III.

*Of the originall of Heathenish Idolatrie,
and multiplicitie of Gods.*

CHAP. XVI.

*The generall fallacie by which Satan seduced the
World to acknowledge false Gods.*

I.



He manner how indefinite notions of the Deitie did branch themselves into Idolatrie, though many have attempted to handle at large, none in my judgement have so directly hitt, as the *Philosopher doth in a touch, or glaunce. The fallacie was in converting that *Maxime*, or generall notion simply, which was convertible onely by Accident. All conceived of God, as the best obiect they could conceiue; whence, many finding contentment to their desires beyond all measure of good distinctly knowne before, forthwith collected that to be God, which had given them *such* contentment. Others more desirous to gratulate their extraordinary benefactors with more then vsuall respect,

* Aristotle
in his Politicks.

Sectio. 3. Spect, then able to distinguish betwene the severall degrees or sorts of honor, made bold to borrow such, as was due vnto the divine power (therewith to gratifie men) and so by custome or bad example brought posteritie to pay that as an ordinary debt, which in heate of affection, or vniwildie exultation of minde, had bene mis-tendered by way of complement, or lavish gratuitie. In mindes not well acquainted with the severall kindes of things desireable, nor with the degrees of their goodnesse, it is alwayes easie for any good of higher degree, or ranke, then hath bene formerly tasted, to intercept that respect, or affection, which by rule of justice belongeth onely to the best. And the affection thus alienated, or misguided, disables our inclinations for aspiring any higher. For although the capacitie of the humane soule be in a manner infinite, and all of vs infinitely desire to be happy, yet our apprehensions of goodnesse, or happinaesse it selfe are confused, and indistinct. The best of vs vntill Gods spirit become our guide, are no better then blind men, in the choyce of things good. From this natie blindnesse of our appetites, and apprehensions, we infinitely desire that which first or most frequently possesseth our soules with delight, though in its nature but a finite good, and our desires being infinitely set on that which is but finitely good, doe dull our sight, dead our appetite, and abate our capacities of that infinite goodnesse, which we naturally long after. Thus, as heretofore is observed*, our desires of good ends, which admit no bound, or limit, are often taken vp by the meanes, whose acquaintance was onely sought, for better compassing the

*Lib. 4. sect.
3. cap. 6.

the end. And many yong wits finding vnusuall refreshing in extemporary exchange of jests, of pleasant discourse, or in opening some veine of Poetry, are in short time brought to confine themselves wholly to this kinde of dyet; contented to be continually fed with froth; otherwise framed for contemplation of such mysteries, as might perpetually distill *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*.

2. By a wittie resemblance directly subordinate to this generall occasion of error is re intimated, doth the noble *Mornay* expresse the manner of some Heathens seducements to worship the Hoast of Heaven. " *This* (saith he) *so fell out, as if some Rustique, that*
 " *thinkes a great deale better of himselfe, when he hath on*
 " *his holy daies suite, permitted to come within the Court,*
 " *should mistake the first gawdie coate he mette with for*
 " *his Prince, or Soueraigne.* Heaven they conceived to be the seate, or court of diuine powers, and the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, being bodies glorious in themselves, and sensible procurers of common benefits to men; partly by reason of their place, partly by that high ranke of excellency, or goodnesse, which they enioy amongst the partes of this visible world, might easily be adored for gods, by such as had small, or no relish of any other good, than what was sensible. Some *Barbarians*, as is said, to this day thinke vs *Christians* but a kinde of senselesse creatures, for worshipping a God, whom we neither see, heare, nor feele, neglecting the Sunne to whose comfortable beames more senses, then one, are beholding. This report, though not avouched by any authentique Relator, whiles related in my hearing by some, who avouched them-

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* *Germani de Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum aperie operibus adiuvantur; Solem scilicet, Vulcanum, Lunam, reliquos nec fama acceperunt. Caesar Comment. lib. 1.*

^a *Vide Forcatulum. lib. 5. pag. 617.*

^b *Cic. lib. 1. de natura Deorum. & Petrarch. de vita Solitaria. l. 1. c. 6. Vide Forcatulum lib. 6. pag. 833. ex Strabone lib. 7.*

* *Cicero lib. 1. de natura Deorum.*

themelves eare-witnesses of such expostulations with *Barbarians*, I could not reiect as incredible, because not vnconsonant to *Cæsars* Narration of the auncient *Germanes* : * *The Germanes*, saith he, *which worshipped no Gods besides the Sunne, the Moone, &c. of whose beneficence they were sensible.* Their manner of life, as is well knowne, was but simple, without varietie of trades for supplying of necessities, much more destitute of good arts, or curious inventions for ornament of publique State; otherwise their gods had beene more. ^a Had the mystery of *Printing* (to omit other profitable inventions of moderne *Germanes*) beene invented in those auncient times, whereof *Cæsar* writes, *Gutenberg* of *Ments*, to whom the Christian world is vnder God most beholding for this sacred Art, might haue beene a God of higher esteeme throughout *Germany*, than *Mercury*, or *Iupiter* himselfe, or any other God of the *Germanes* by *Cæsar* mentioned. For with most people of those times (as ^b *Zeno*es scholler had observed) any profitable Invention was title sufficient to chalenge the esteeme, or honor of a God; even the things themselves so invented, if rare, or extraordinarily beneficiall, were ensiled with the attributes of divine powers. Thus as the wise man had observed, the Heathens multiplied their gods according to the varietie of the matters, which they principally desired, or feared. And * *Cotta* deriding the *Somnolent* and sluggish gods of the *Epicures*, doth in comparison acquite the *Egyptians* from their grosse foppery, in that they consecrated no beasts, but for some publique benefit in their opinion received from them.

3. Of publique benefits, freedome from daunger was held a part; whence those beasts, how loathsome soever, vnto whose annoyance they were most obnoxious, were revered and feared as gods. Not the Crocodile, but had his peculiar rites, or pacificall ceremonies: howbeit his worshippers held it a point of religious policy to hold like correspondency with *Ichneumon*, a kinde of water Rat, which devoured this gods young ones. To attribute divine honour vnto beasts, how beneficiall soever, may seeme to vs very grosse, and without some other collaterall impulsive causes scarce derivable from the former originall of this error. But whatsoever the causes might be, experience hath proued the effect not vnusuall amongst barbarous people in this age. There be at this day in *Samogithia* many Idolaters which nourish a kinde of Serpents that go or creepe vpon foure short feet like *Lizards*, their bodies blackish and fat, about some three handfulls in length, and these they nourish as their household Gods. And whilst they come or creepe vpon set daies by ceremoniall invitation vnto their meate, the Master of the house with his familie attends them with feare and reverence to their repast, at their repast, untill they returne vnto their place. It is a strange Narration which this Author in the same place commends vnto vs vpon the credit of his Host. Which how farre it is to be taken, I referre it to such as will take paines to read the Author himselfe,

Sunt etiam
in Samo-
gubia Idola
lata quatuor
serpentes
quosdam
quatuor bre-
uius, lacer-
antem in
star pedibus
nigro abes-
que corpore
trium pal-
marum lon-
gitudinem
non exceden-
tes. Garam-
les dicitur.

tanquam potates domi sua vtriusque: totosque lustrata domo statim diebus ad appositum ci-
bum propentes, cum tota familia, quoad saturati in locum suum reuertantur, timore
quodam venerantur. Sigismund. Baro de Rebus Moscov. pag. 113.

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* Cum priori
ex Moscoria
itinere redi-
ens, in Troki
venissem, re-
ferebat hos-
pes meus, ad
quem fortè
diverteram,

se eodem quo ibi gram anno, ab eiusmodi quodam serpentis cultore aliquot alvearia apum emis-
se: quem cum oratione sua ad verum Christi cultum adduxisset, utq; serpentem, quem colebat,
occideret, persuasisset; aliquanto post cum ad visendas apes suas eò reversus fuisset, hominem fa-
cie deformatum, ore aurium tenus miserabilem in modum diducto offendit. Tanti mali causam
interrogatus, respondit, se, quod serpenti deo suo manus nefarias iniecisset, ad piaculum expian-
dum, luendamq; poenam, hac calamitate puniri: multa q; graviora, si ad priores ritus suos non
rediret, eum pati oportere. Vide Sigismund. Barman de Rebus Moscoviticis. Pag. 113, 114.

* Parū abfu-
it, quin tot
prouocati be-
neficijs, et
præclare in-
ventis rebus
Gallica gens
Saronem ip-
sum in deorum
numerum re-
ferret, qui
veterissimus
fuit mos gra-
tiam beneme-
ritibus refe-
rēdi, consq; li-
cētia progre-
diens, in bar-
bari quidam,
quales Æ-
gyptij bovem
agrorū cul-
tura aptissi-
mū adorarēt.

præterea fere aliquot numinum loco habuerunt, quarum operâ sibi sub ventum intelligerant.
Forcat. de Gallorum. Imp. &c. l. 1. p. 73.

or his words here quoted in the Margine*. But leaving
these barbarous worshippers of venomous or noy-
some beasts: to adore men well deserving of them
with divine honour, most Nations haue beene by na-
ture more prone, and many haue had peculiar impul-
sions to push forward their pronenesse vnto this
sinne.

4. That God in the similitude and substance of man
should communicate inestimable blessings to mortali-
tie, was a tradition vndoubted from the propagation
of mankind. This notion supposed; That the severall
authors of benefits as hard by meanes ordinary or ob-
servable to be accomplished, as they were highly esteem-
ed, should be taken by silly Heathens for gods in
mens likenesse*; is an essentiall branch of the former
promptness to invest every vnexperiēced good thing,
with that cōceit they had of the very best imaginable.
Amongst the gods of the Heathen, *Iupiter* was com-
monly esteemed supreme, because the imagined au-
thor of greatest benefits; yet greater than *Paul* bestow-
ed vpon that poore soule of *Lysira*, which had beene a
creeple from his mothers wombe, no fabulous Poet
had reported as done by him in all his supposed trans-
figurations on earth. The excellency of the good

turne, whereof their eyes were witnesses, did exactly fit the best *notion* they had of any divine power. Hence was that exclamation; * *The gods are come downe unto vs in the likenesse of men.* And because Princes, or men of greatest places on earth, for reservation of state, deliver their mindes by Orators or Interpreters: *Barnabas* for his silence is taken for *Iupiter*, and *Paul* for his dexteritie of speech is named *Mercury*: both, if so they would, might haue robbed *Iupiter* of his honour by the consent and furtherance of his owne Priests. From this peoples pronenesse to adore them, as the greatest gods, which they had heard of, we may gather how easily the title of petty gods might haue bin purchased by any impostor, that could obstupifie rude people, as *Simon Magus* did, with appearances farre surpassing their observation or capacities. How naturall the apprehension of divine power is vpon vnu-
suall events; how apt, and flexible apprehensions so occasioned are to be misplaced vpon wrong objects, cannot better be exemplified by any instance, then by the *Barbarians* various censure vpon *S. Paul*. The manner of the Vipers creeping out of the fire, & hanging vpon his hand (after a daungerous escape by Sea) they apprehend as a document of divine Iustice, making inquisition for bloud. * *When the Barbarians sawe the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves; no doubt this man is a murtherer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to liue. But after they had looked a great while, and saw no harme come to him, they changed their mindes, and said, that he was a God.* Had he himselfe said, Amen, to their motions, he might haue received divine honour from
K 2 them

* Acts. 14.
11.

* Acts. 28.
ver. 4, 5, 6.

Sectio. 3.

them by publique decree. Much better was the indistinct, or confused *notion*, which this kinde hearted people had of the godhead, or of diuine powers, then the speculative acquired knowledge of the true and onely God, which the malicious hard-hearted *Jewes* had translated out of Gods booke into their owne braines.

5. The *Jewes* in that they had entwined their owne vaine-glorious hopes of honour and earthly dignitie, with that *preconceite* or *notion*, which they had of their *Messias*'s glory, were often enraged against him for chalenging, or accepting diuine honour for blessings more miraculous, then that last mentioned wrought by *Paul*; vsually bestowed by him vpon their poore. For these blessings, although farre surmounting all conceit of any good before experienced, or expected by the poore soules relieved, were (*not good, but rather*) offensive to such spectators, as had fed their fancies with confident hopes of a Monarch, to crowne them with externall soueraigntie over others, not a Physitian to cure their inward woundes, or to set them free from Satanicall slavery. Howbeit his handy-workes, seconded with his wordes of life, vsually left a true print of his diuinitie in the parties, whom he cured; because the good they felt, was greater then could be expected from any but him, whom God had sent. And I am perswaded, the poore creeple of *Listra*, not otherwise instructed by his mouth, which had made him sound, would haue taken him either for *Iupiter*, or some greater god: albeit *Iupiters* Priests, or other Citizens of best respect had maligned, or vilified the cure wrought in him, in such manner, as the *Scribes*,
Pharisees,

Pharisees, and *Jewes* did our Saviours restoration of the blind man to sight, the deafe, the lame, the dumbe, and such as he had raised from death, or dispossessed of divells, were alwayes ready to worship him as a God, because extraordinarily good to them. The *Priests*, the *Scribes*, and *Pharisees* would not acknowledge him for a good man, because not willing to feede them with hopes of such good, as they most desired.

6. It is an error most incident to drudging mindes, not to distinguish betwixt goodnesse it selfe, and what is good to their affections. Once I heard a poore creature complaine of her deceased neighbour, that he was an hard man towards the poore. Being asked what reason she had so to censure him; the reply was, that he had given somewhat to every poore in the Parish, besides her selfe; though she, as farre as I could learne, was onely forgotten, not excepted against upon any splene. From some spice of this drowsie error the best of vs are not free, alwayes by nature not rectified or over-ruled by grace, prone to loue that best, which seemes best vnto vs, not what absolutely, and in it selfe is such. From this partiall inclination were many obscure imaginary powers, scarce knowne to neighbour Countries, more honoured in some private Cities to which they had beene principall benefactors, than *Iupiter*, or other famous gods.

* *The Alabandenses* (saith Tully) doe more religiously worship one *Alabandus*, the Founder of their Cittie, then they doe any of their greater or more famous Gods.

* *Alabander-
ses, sanctius
colunt Ala-
bandum, à
quo est con-*

*data vrbs illa, quam quenquam nobilium Deorum. Cicero. lib. 3. de natura
Gyraldus. pag. 65.*

Deorum. Et

Sectio. 3.

* Crueliter
iste et super-
be imperaue-
rat, sed lar-
gitionibus
plurimum po-
terat. Vide
sepulchrum
eius in Car-
thusianorum
templo Pa-
pia, cumq;
ex his quidam
inter specta-
dum mihi vir-
tutem eius

pradicaret, ac sanctimoniam tribueret: cur inquam ego, sanctam appellas? vides ibi multo-
rum populorum insignia depicta, quos ille sibi nullo iure subegit. Tum ille: Nos inquit, consue-
tudine quadam sanctos vocamus eos, qui nobis benefecerint. Philip. Cominaus de Bello Neap.
lib. 1.

Cominaus* hath acquainted vs with the like humor in
certaine professed Romish Catholicke Christians,
which made no scruple of worshipping such men for
Saints after death; as in their liues and actions had
more resembled Satan, and his wicked Angells.
From the common notion; [*That Saints are the best of
men;*] They did by the vsuall fallacie misconceiue,
and, vpon their misconceit, admit all such for Saints,
as had dealt best with them, though perhappes much
better, then in conscience they ought, and to the great
preiudice of many others much better deserving fa-
uour, and beneficence.

7. Vnto a more detestable kinde of Idolatrie many
Heathens were, many Christians yet are brought by
mere excesse of the like selfe-loue, or partiall and cor-
rupt affection; even to Deifie any kind of delightsome
filthinesse, or beneficiall villany, or to imagine some
one or other diuine power, patron of such practises,
as they feare might otherwise be controlled by mans
authoritie. Whatsoever it be, whereon our affections
are most set, *that* is indeed and truth our onely god,
and would be solemnely adored with diuine worship,
did not our naturall feare of civill shame, or publique
infamie, likely to redound, for revolting from the rule
of life generally acknowledged, restraine our motiue
faculties from acting those partes, which haue beene
designed vnto them by the vaine imaginations of our
wicked hearts. In as much as the heart of man is Gods
pecu-

peculiar inheritance, with whose entire faculties he requires to be adored, and served, this inheritance being once alienated from him, doth naturally draw the appurtenances after it, even all such homage and services, as are due vnto his sacred Maiestie, bestowing them vpon those matters, whatsoever they be, vpon which it hath once bestowed it selfe. Thus might the wanton Strumpet haue beene invested with the most glorious attributes of diuine goodnesse, that the lasciuious Poet in heate of lust could haue invented.

* *Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quolibet illi.*

* Horace.


8. *Couetousnesse* (in S. Pauls Divinitie) is *Idolatrie**. With this written veritie most agreeable was the natural *notion* of those poore barbarous *Indians*, w^{ch} imagined the *Spanyards* had no other God besides gold, or none so deare vnto them as this mettall was, because they saw them hunt so greedily after it both by sea and land. Their inordinate and excessiue coveting after it made the *Barbarians* to cōmit *Idolatrie* with it.

* Ephes. 5. 5.

Vide Casañ.

CHAPTER XVII.

The more speciall Fallacies by which Sathan seduced the Heathen to multiplie their gods in excessiue manner.

I.  Although it be true, which hath beene said; That nothing was by nature, or condition so vile, as not to be capable of high place amongst the Heathenish gods; yet vnto that extremitie of multiplying their gods

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* Aug. lib. 5.
de Civit. Dei.
cap. 21.

gods according to the number of their conceits, the Heathens did not slide but by succession and degrees. The *Persians* (as S. * *Austine* tells vs) worshipped no more gods then two, one good, and another evill, whom they likewise accounted good, so long as he did no ill to them. How *evill* should be without a cause, or how *good* and *evill* should both proceede from one cause, or finally how *evill* (being no part of nothing) should come into the world, (seeing the worlds creation was but an effect of the almightie Creators goodnesse in communicating his being vnto all things) are points so ill expressed by most Christians, that the grossest errors of the Heathens concerning them, may seeme very pardonable. From these *Persian Magies* the *Manichees* (it seemes) deriue their heresies, both of them, as most other Heathens, had a true apprehension, (though both failed in their iudgement, or composition) of those divine Oracles;

* Amos. 3.
vers. 6.
* James 1.
vers. 17.

1. *Is there any evill done in the Cittie, which I have not caused*?*

2. *Every good gift is from aboue*.*

Before multiplicie of businesses, or artificiall curiosities benumbed the sense of nature, every extraordinary, or remarkeable effect was vnto men a sensible signe and witnesse of an invisibie power, bringing things that were not, to light. *Rom. 1. vers. 20.*

2. The first roots of that vnrighteousnesse, wherein they held the truth thus, in a manner, desirous to manifest it selfe, were;

" 1. [Carelesnesse in observing the notifications of divine power.]

" 2. [Neg-

“ 2. [Neglect to tender such dutifull service, as the
“ more evident manifestations of his goodnesse did
in a sort demand.] The prime seede of both these
roots was the imbecillitie of corrupted nature, whose
chiefe and supreme faculties, though well instructed,
are alwayes apt to be over-borne with the imbred and
accustomed desires of sense. Of the forementioned
apprehension, or acknowledgement of some invisible
power, as chiefe author of *good and evill*, one immedi-
ate consequence was this ; *That the same power ; whe-*
ther one, or moe, was the rewarder of such, as sought to
please him, and a revenger of those that neglected, or offen-
ded it. Whence, in mindes mis-led by their corrupt
appetites, the best and finall consequence of the for-
mer apprehensions or *notions*, was to wooe the suppo-
sed divine powers by all meanes possible to patronize
themselues, and their actions, though vniust, dishonest,
or suspicious ; rather than to submit their wills, and
affections wholly to their disposalls, or so to frame
their liues, as they might be capable of their iust fa-
vours. And as vnskillfull *Empyricks* seeke remedy from
every medicine they haue read, or heard of, because
they know not the distinct vertue of any, or how it is
proportioned to the effect they ayme at : So these
poore-blind Heathen, daily more and more ignorant
in the grounds of true Religion, did as it were grope
after a new invisible power in every visible effect, vn-
till at length they came to subdivide, and breake the
generall *notion* according to the distinction, or num-
ber of the sensibles, which they best or worst affected.
That every visible effect had an invisible cause, was
rightly proposed ; but from this principle they slipt
into

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into an erroneous assumption; That there should be as many invisible causes, as there be distinct or visible events. The fallacie is easily put vpon vulgar, or *Somnolent* wittes; as if one should say, he had ten brethren, and every of them a sister; some mens mindes would forthwith runne vpon two and twentie brothers and sisters. Whether there be as many paternities, or fatherhoods in the father, as he hath sonnes, is sometimes questioned in the Schooles, and hard vniuersally to determine, whether in this sense [*Quot modis dicitur unum Relatorum, tot modis dicitur & alterum*] Whether tearmes formally relative alwayes multiplie according to the number of their proper correlatiues? Now to distinguish aright betweene the formall Relation, and its immediate ground, will in many subjects trouble greatest Artists. Well then might the Heathen (though ill they did in so doing) imagine as many invisible powers, as they observed effects produced by causes invisible; or (as the learned *Hooker* saith) *dreamt of as many guides of nature, as they saw guides of things naturall.*

3. After once their scattered imaginations had given admission to this erroneous representation, or coniecture of many invisible powers; distinct names, or titles were sought for them from the effects, which they had caused. As in this Land before surnames continued in succession, men commonly tooke their names from the places of their birth, or dwelling, or from events peculiar to them; as strangers in some places yet (if their names be hard to be pronounced or remembered) are vsually called by the places from whence they came, if these be famous, or haue sent forth

forth few, or none besides to the coasts where they remaine. So the image, which *Titus Tatius* found, because the partie, whom it represented was altogether vnknowne, was named *Cloacina*, from a very homely place, if it should be exprest in English. Or as they framed severall gods according to the varietie of their intemperate desires; so they vsually derived their titles from the matters, whose avoydance or fruition they most desired: As we giue extrinsecall denominations to objects from the reference they haue to our internall faculties; As some we say are intelligible, others amiable; Goddesses of this ranke were *Velupia* and *Libentina*, &c.

4. Not a joynt almost in a mans body, but had a peculiar god among the *Romanes*, whereby they witnessed some scattered reliques, or imperfect Characters of what the *Psalmist* saith (in other termes) to haue beene written in their hearts; * *In thy booke were all my members written, when as not one of them was yet made.* All at least in their opinion were vnder the tuition of some divine powers, by whose meanes they hoped they might be preserved sound, or to haue them healed if they were amisse. And not knowing vnto what peculiar God or Goddess to tender their service, or direct their prayers, for this purpose they gaue names to the supposed latent powers from the place affected; * *In ipsa terrâ aliud Terram, aliud Tellurem, aliud Tellumonem putant.* *Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 4. cap. 10.* The varietie of transmutations conspicuous in the growth of corne brought forth a multiplicity of gods, distinguished onely by names proportionate to the effects. They could not finde (saith *St. Augustine*) one
Segetia,

* *Psal. 139.*
16.

* See *Blondus.*

Sectio. 3. *Segetia*, or Goddesse of corne, vnto whose care and trust, they might safely commend it from the sowing till the reaping. Corne sowne whilest vnder the ground was vnder the protection of *Seis*, after it came vp, *vt segetem faceret*, it changed the former Guardian for *Segetia*. Not the very knottes of the straw or reede, but had a protector from his office entitled *Nodotus*. Because they feared rust or canker, rightly imagining that both these vsually came (as some Northerne men speake) by the *Seand* of God: they dreamed of a god of rust, or canker; doubtlesse a rustie god, yet in their opinion to be pacified with solemne rites, and ceremonies. Every house-keeper (saith the same father) sets but one to keepe the doore, and being a man but one sufficeth: vnto this office notwithstanding were three gods deputed by the *Romanes*; *Forculus foribus*, *Cardea cardini*, *Limentina limini*: One *Forculus* to the fore doore, another to the hinges, or turnings, and a third to the thresholdes, all taking their titles from these petty places, whereof they were reputed Presidents. *Aug. de civitate Dei lib. 4. cap. 8.*

5. But many other events fell out besides, or aboue mens expectations, wanting permanency of being, or such peculiar references, or determinations of circumstances, as might deriue a perpetuall name to their supposed authors. Howbeit rather than these should be seised vpon, as excheats falling to men without the knowledge, or direction of diuine powers, vnto whom *they* were to be accountable for them; even these were ascribed to some God, though they knew not to whom. So most learned Expositors probably thinke that Altar, which *S. Paul* found at *Athens*, had

had beene erected vpon occasion of some famous victory, whose procurement the *Athenians* not knowing by any circumstance vnto what knowne God it might be ascribed, and hence fearing lest by attributing it to any of those gods, whom they worshipped, the true author of it might be wronged, or neglected; they ascribed it *Ignoto Deo, to the unknowne God*; well hoping he would make himselfe knowne by graunting more victories, being thus honoured for the former. With like gratifications did the *Romanes* strive to winne the gods of al the nations they had conquered, to favour their conquests. Some good perhaps they had heard done by them vnto their followers (as God (in opposition to Atheisme and Irreligion) did reward the blind devotion of the Heathen with extraordinary temporall blessings:) and that any Nation should be in greater favour, though with their owne gods, then themselves, this proud people did brooke as ill, as great corporations doe to be out-vied by lesse in meriting the favour of great personages by rich presents, solemne invitatiōs, or costly intertainments. Nor is it strange the ignorant Heathen should be overtaken with this humor, wherewith an vntoward branch of *Dauids* stocke was desperately tainted. In the time of his tribulation did he yet trespassse more against the Lord. (This is King *Ahaz*, so vnwilling is the spirit his name should be conceiled:) For he sacrificed vnto the gods of *Damascus*, which plagued him, and he sayd; Because the gods of the King of *Aram* helped him, I will sacrifice vnto them, and they will helpe me*. These were gods, which his fathers had not knowne, perhaps not heard of; he onely knew them from the place.

* 2. Chron.
28. ver. 22,
23.

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6. From the former Principle, [*That every visible effect must have a cause;*] did the auncient *Romanes* as eligiously, as wisely collect; That such events as fell out besides the intention of man, or any ordinary or observable course appointed by nature, were even for this reason in some peculiar sort to be referred vnto the providence of some divine power. And rather than the invisible author should loose his right for want of a distinct name, the manner of the event was made a godfather or godmother. Hence had *Fortune* more Temples in *Rome* than any god or goddesse besides. And seeing of such events as haue no observable cause in nature, or humane intention, but fall out (as we say) by *chance*, some were very good, others disastrous; bad *Fortune* had her rites, and honours as well as good *Fortune*. The one propitiatory sacrifices, lest she might doe more harme; the other gratulatory, that she might continue her wonted favours*. The superstitious division of *Fortune* into good and bad, was but a subdivision of the *Persian*, or *Manichees* misconception of one *God* as author of good, of another as the author of euill. These latter fooleries of the *Romanes* are excellently refuted by *S. Austin* in his fourth booke *de civitate Dei. cap. 23. Si cultorem suum decernit, ut pro fit, Fortuna non est. If shee can know her worshippers, or deservedly respect them, shee is not Fortune, because not blind; If shee cannot respect them, nor take notice of their service, it is in vaine to worship her. Howsoever, the cost they were at in her service had bin much better bestowed on that other female *Fælicitas*, (who if shee had bin a living Goddesse) had all good things mans heart could desire at her disposall. But as the same*

*Cicero. lib. 1.
de natura
Deorum.

same Father acutely concludes ;* *Hic enim carere non potest infelicitate, qui tanquam deam felicitatem colit, & Deum dator em felicitatis relinquit ; sicut carere non potest fame, qui panem pictū lingit, & ab homine, qui verū habet non petit.* He that adoreth the goddesse *Felicitie*, balking that God who is the donor of *Felicitie*, shall be as faithfully attended by misery, as he who soever he be, shall be by hunger which solaceth himselfe by licking or kissing painted bread, disdainig to begge or aske substantiall bread of men that haue it.

7. Howbeit by this foolish service of *Fortune*, whether good or bad, the *Romanes* shewed themselves more wise, and more religious, than most such amongst vs as would be esteemed Prophets of state. As they want not wit, nor other meanes to doe good to the house of God, so they would cease to sacrifice to their owne braines, or disclaime all title to Gods honour offered to them, by theit Parasites. But as the Heathen fathered vnobseruable, or strange events vpon new fained gods, or *Lady-Fortune* ; so the trencher-mates of our times, resoluē all good successe of state into some great mens wit, or valour, whom they admire, or loue to flatter for their owne gaine. Not the discovery of the *Powder-Treason* it selfe, but hath beene in our hearing ascribed to the Oracle of Intelligence, as if the plotte had beene knowne to some Demi-gods of state before the plotters fell adigging. He should not much wrong this Table-tatling crewe, in word, or thought, that thinkes, and speakes of them, as of Idolaters more detestable, than the most superstitious Heathen *Romanes* ; or if they come short of them in the proper nature of this particular *summe*, we are to take the abatement,

Cap. 17.

* Aug. de Ci-
vil. Dei. lib. 4
cap. 23.

Section. 3. ment, not so much from any lesse measure of false religion, as from excesse of Atheisme and irreligion. But from what Schoole they take these lessōs I know, and must hereafter haue *Machieuill* their Maister in examination for his impudent animadversions, and hypocriticall corrupt glosses, quite contrary as well to the professed meaning of that very Text he tooke vpon him to expound; as to the vnanimous tenent of best *Romane* Writers, even Senators themselves, concerning the causes of their States advancement.

8. But questionlesse such of the *Romanes*, as adored *Felicitie* for a goddesse, were not of those *Philosophers* minde, which denied *felicitie* to be the gift of God: for what could haue nurst in them this desire to please her, saue onely hope, that shee could reward with happinesse such as diligently sought her, and could prosper industrious and carefull indeuours, for private or publique weale, in which cases onely they did sollicite her furtherance. Such good successes as grew rather from meere happe, than good husbandry, were taken as fauours of *M^{rs} Fortune*, not graces of the great *Queene Felicitie*, or *Lady Vertue*. The worshippers likewise of this inferior goddesse did by their service acknowledge, that some diuine power must giue increase, and maturitie to such seeds of morall honestie, as by nature had beene planted, or watered by ciuill education, or good discipline. That the blessings of this supposed goddesse were as necessary and beneficiall to the labour, or culture of the minde, as the blessings of *Ceres* or *Segetia* were to tillage, or workes of husbandry. Hence we may
ga-

Cap. 17.

gather Cotta's mouth to haue beene a great deale too wide, when it vttered that vnflattery obseruation, which Tully (as I conceiue) observing the decorum of the parties disposition, or the part which he was to act, brings him in rather belching than speaking: his tautologies are so abrupt and tedious; part of which are to this effect: *a No man did ever acknowledge God for the Author or donor of vertue. And this stands with reason, for we are iustly commended by others for vertues, and we our selues rightly glory in our vertues, which could not be so, if vertue were the gift of God, not a qualitie of our providing. But for the increase of honour, or reuerences, for the attayning any good which might haue mist vs, for eschewing any euill which might haue befallen vs, we thanke the Gods, disclaiming our owne praise or deseruings. Doubtlesse he had never asked the consent of his honest Neighbours to this peremptory determination, which alike concerned them all; but vsed his owne proud irreligious spirit, as an allowed measure of others thoughts. b Did any man euer thanke the Gods for making him a good man? For what then? For his riches, honour, or safetie. Iupiter had his titles of greatnesse and goodnesse from these effects, not for making vs iust, and temperate, or wise men; nor did ever any man vow tithes to Hercules for being made wise by him. From these vnflattery ejaculations of Cotta, and also from the Ro-*

a Virtutem nemo vnquam acceptam Deo retulit: nimirum recte: atq; hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates, vineta, segetes, oliveta, vbertatem frugum, & fructuum, omnem denique commoditatem, prosperitatemque; vita à Dijs se habere; Virtutem autem nemo vnquam acceptam Deo retulit: nimirum recte: Propter virtutem enim

iure laudamur, & in virtute recte gloriamur; quod non contingeret, si id donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiarari, aut si aliud quidquam nobis finis fortuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cum Dijs gratias agimus, cum nihil nostra laudi assumptum arbitramur. Cic. de natura Deorum. lib. 3. b Num quis, quod bonus vir esse, gratias Dijs egit vnquam? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis, loquemque optimum maximum ob eas res appellant; non quod nos iustos, temperatos, sapientes efficiat, sed quod saluos, incolumes, copulentos, copiosos. Neque Herculi quisquam decimas vovisse vnquam, si sapiens factus esset.

Sectio. 3

* Section. 1.
Chap. 5.

Horat. Epist.
lib. 1 p. 275.

mane Poet who acknowledged himselfe to haue beene of Epicures broode, we may inferre; That this Sect amongst the ancient Romanes did not absolutely deny the divine providence, but onely as it respected the soule of man. A speciall providence over mens bodies and temporall estates they did with reverence acknowledge, herein much better than the Libertines of our times, than carelesse professors of Christianitie, or those Heathen Epicureans* before mentioned in Iuvenalls time.

*Sit mihi, quod nunc est, etiam minus; ut mihi vivam,
Quod superest ævi: si quid superesse volunt dii:
Sit bona librorum, & provise frugis in annum
Copia: neu flitem dabie spe pendulus hora.
Sed satis est orare Iovem, qui donat & aufert:
Det vitam, det opes; æquum mi animum ipse parabo.*

*With what I have or ist be lesse; vnto my selfe to live
I am content: if longer life the Gods shall please to give.
Of booke I chiefly plentie wish, of other things such store,
As may my mind fr òflating thoughts to settled state restore.
Of Ioue who giues and takes away, all that I mean to craue,
Is life and meanes: an vpright mind, I of my selfe can haue.*

9. Not to cloy the Reader with multitude of instances without varietie of observation: scarce was there a blessing, or good gift, any manner of punishment, or reward, which wee Christians deriue from God, whose forme or abstract, the Romanes and Grecians did not conceipt as a God or goddesse, according to the Grammaticall gender of the nounce or word, whereby the nature was signified. *Pauor* [Dread] was

was a god; *Pena* [*Punishment*] a goddess; *Premium* [*reward*] I know not whether a god or goddess, but to them a *deified power*. Though in no case we may legitimate this misconceite of these Heathens; yet must we acknowledg it to be but one degree removed from that truth, wherof it is the degenerate offspring. He that wills vs, *to be perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect*, supposeth the ideall perfection, or exemplary forme of all goodnesse required in vs to be originally, essentially, and supereminently in him. Of which truth this is the immediate consequence; “ [*That the exact definition of vertues (especially intellectual, or of any essential branch of goodnesse)* ” “ *is more proper to the divine patterne, or Idea, than* ” “ *to the participated impressiō, which it leaues in vs.* That definition which did either breede, or abette some needlesse controversies amongst Schoolemen and moralists; [*whether Iustice be a morall or intellectuall vertue,*] was intended by *Vlpian* the author of it, for a description of the heathen goddess *Iustice*, as the learned *Hottoman*, with some other good Lawyers avouched by * *Salmuth*, to my remembrance, haue rightly collected from the words annexed: *Iustitia est perpetua, & constans voluntas suum cuiq; tribuendi, cuius nos [Iurisconsulti] sacerdotes sumus; Iustice is a perpetuall and constant will of rendering to every man his due, whose Priests we are that professe the Law.*

10. There is no attribute of God as conceived by vs, or rather no conceipt we haue of his attributes, but hath its distinct bounds or limits. We cannot say; that his justice is formally his mercie, or that his loue is altogether the same with his iealousy or indignatiō,

*In his preface to his Comments vpon *Pancirola*.

Sectio. 3.

nor are these termes, whilst applied to God by vs, of synonymall signification. Every one hath a proper, and severall *notion*, capable of a distinct definition or notation. Now if with some Schoolmen, or Logicians we should argue a multitude of really distinct natures answerable to the number of definitions really distinct, or such a difference in the matter conceived, as there is in our *conceits* of it; the argument would conclude as well in the divine attributes, as in any other subject. And as the evident apprehension of real distinction betweene our expresse conceits of any matter, is alwayes apt to suggest a conceit of real diversitie in the matter so conceived: so this diversitie betwixt the divine attributes once admitted into the vnderstanding (or the contrary not excluded) would cause vs to hunt after a proper *phantasme*, or representation of every attribute; and (lastly) internall representations of them as really distinct, would be delivered of so many externall Images or Idolls answerable vnto them. *Iustice* would be apprehended as one goddesse, *Clemencie*, as another, *Indignation*, as a third; each should have a tribunall, or forme of supplication distinct from others, as the parties that had occasion to implore divine assistance, were affected. Malefactors or dissolute liuers would be delighted with the picture of *clemencie*, affrighted to looke vpon the visage of *Iustice*. Such as suffer grievous wrongs, without all hope of being righted, or men naturally thirstie of revenge, would feed their fantasies with Emblematicall representations of a *Nemesis*:

α Μαράω-
νος δὲ σα-
δύς μάλι-
σα ἐξήκον-
τα ἀπέχει,
Ραμνὺς δ'
παρὰ δα-
λογαν ἰδ-
σιν ἐς ὦ-
ρωπον, καὶ
αἰ μὲν δίκη-

σεις ἐπὶ δαλογῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔστι, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ δαλογῆς ἄνω, Νεμέσεώς ἐστι
ἱερὸν, ἡ δὲ μάλισα ἀνθρώποις ὕβρισις ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος. Pausanias. l. 1. p. 62.

* H.

* Η Νέμεσις προλέγω τῷ πῶχεϊ, τῷ τε χαλίνῳ,
Μήτ' ἀμετρόν τε ποιεῖν, μήτ' ἀχάλινα λέγειν.

*With bridle and square I act at large,
my Prologue though's not long;
By unruly hand, by unbridled tongue,
see no Man man doe wrong.*

This *Nemesis* was in their opinion a goddess of Justice, vnto whose cognizance belonged not every vniust speech or action, but onely such as were outragious. For this reason was she pictured with a bridle in one hand, and a square or ruler in the other, to teach moderation in speech or action.

11. In the observation of best Christian Writers, the wiser sort of Heathen did acknowledge but one supreme power or deitie, the severall branches of whose efficacie, or operations while they sought to set forth in ^a Emblemes, Hieroglyphicks, or Poeticall resemblances, these sluces late mentioned were opened to augment the former deluge of superstition and Idolatrie. And I know not whether in our forefathers times theologicall vertues, as *faith*, and *charitie* came to be worshipped as Saints from such emblematicall devises or representations, as are yet to be seene in the picture of S. *Sunday*^b; which without the Sextons

^a In altero
verò arca
latere, quod
est à lava,
ordinem ope-
ris in orbem
oculis perse-
quenti. *fati-*
na expressa
est puerum
consepitum
dextra albū

*sustinens, nigrum sinistra, & hunc dormientis effigie, distortis vtrinq; pedibus. Indicant inscriptiones, quod facile tamen, ut nihil scriptum sit, coniectere possis, eorum puerorum vni Mortem esse, alterum Somnum, mulierem illam Noctem, vtriusq; nutriem. At formis illa mulier, qua fœda facie alteram, sinistra obstricto collo trahit, dextera fuste cadit, iustitiam significat, qua iniuriam malè mulstat. Paus L. 3. p. 321. ^b In the parish Church of East Wickham in Buckinghamshire. The picture seems to represent our Saviour Christ. And the importance of the Embleme in charitable construction may be this, that he hath received more wounds by prophane Sabbath-breakers, than he did by the *Iewes*.*

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* Lib. 2. de
natura Deo-
rum.

commentaries, that shewed it me, or sight of the tradf-
mens tooles, that had wronged this Saint, (or rather
violated the Sabbath) I should haue taken for a cha-
racter of the Iewish Synagogue in *Isaias* dayes; so
miserably was this Saint wounded from head to foot.
These two occasions of heathenish error in multi-
plying gods, are to my seeming, at least since I made
this obseruation, briefly toucht by * *Tully*; vnto whom
I referre the latine Reader. *Multa autem alia natura*
Deorum ex magnis beneficijs eorum non sine causa, & à
Gracia sapientibus & à maioribus nostris constituta nomi-
nat. eq; sunt. Quicquid enim magnam utilitatem generi af-
ferret humano, id non sine divina bonitate erga homines fie-
ri arbitrabantur. Itaq; tum illud, quod erat à Deo natum,
nomine ipsius Dei nuncupabant: ut cum fruges Cererem ap-
pellamus, vinum vero Liberum: ex quo illud Terenti; Sine
Cerere, et Libero friget venus. Tum vero res ipsa in qua vis
inest maior aliqua, sic appellatur, ut ea ipsa vis nominetur
Deus; ut Fides, ut Mens, quas in Capitolio dedicatas vi-
demus proximè à M. Emilio Scauro, antè autem ab Atti-
lio Calatino erat fides consecrata. Vides virtutis templum,
vides honoris à M. Marcello renovatum, quod multis ante
annis erat bello Ligustico à Qu. Maximo dedicatum.
Quid opis? quid salutis? quid concordie? Libertatis?
Victoria? quarum omnium rerum quia vis erat tanta, ut
sine deo regi non posset, ipsa res Deorum nomen obtinuit.
Quo ex genere Cupidinis & voluntatis & Lubentina ve-
neris vocabula consecrata sunt vitiosarum rerum, neq; na-
turalium; quanquam valde aliter existimat; sed tamen
ea ipsa vitia naturam vehemētius sepe pulsan. Utilitatum
igitur magnitudine constituti sunt ij dij, qui utilitates
quasq; gignebant; atq; his quidē nominibus, quæ paulò an-
te


te nominata sunt à me, quæ vis sit in quoq; declaratur Deo.
 This * author elsewhere thought the auncient Philo-
 sophers, which held, *omnia esse unum*, had soared much
 higher, than the *Pygmy*-wits of his time could reach;
 and multiplicitie of Rules concerning one and the
 same subiect, doth alwayes argue imbecillitie of vn-
 derstanding, either naturall or for want of art. On the
 contrary, such as by profunditie, or strength of wit
 are able to diue into the depth of sciences, alwayes re-
 duce multiplicity to paucity, and draw most particu-
 lar conclusions from one, or few common principles.
 Some maximes there be, which in every science hold
 the same, into which all truths must finally be resol-
 ved, without whose breach, or violation, nothing can
 iustly be impeached of falshood. With greater facilitie
 and perspicuitie may the causes of all visible or
 knowne effects be resolved into one cause of causes,
 or into that vnitie, whence all multiplicitie floweth.
 But of this hereafter.

Cap. 18.

* Libro 3. de
 Oratore in
 Initio.

CHAPTER XVIII.

*The originall of Superstition, properly so called, and
 the preseruatiues prescribed by God himselfe against
 this branch of Idolatrie.*

- I.  S contrarieties in opinions oftentimes agree too well in falshood, so one and the same falshood may sometimes spring from contrary causes. The same Idolatrous error of the Heathens, which principally descended from too nice abstractions, or conceiving

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^a Plato in his
Hippias.

^b Chap. 15.

of that *unitie* (or incomprehensible essence) as many whose attributes *they* could not apprehend, but vnder more conceits, was much increased by confounding the abstract with the concrete, or by conceiving of those things as one, which indeed were many. Were wooll or paper of all the subjects or bodies which we had seene onely white, every white thing which we see a farre off would be taken for wooll or paper. Our answer to this Question, *Quid est albedo?* What is whitenesse? would perhaps be no better, than ^a *Hippias* made to the like; *Quid est pulchritudo?* What is beautie? *Mulier formosa, aut equus pulcher;* A faire woman, or a comely horse. No sensible, as was ^b observed before, is ever represented without a traine of circumstances, or concomitants. Of all circumstances *time* and *place* are necessary adherents to every passenger, that approacheth the gates of sense. And were not one and the same *sensible* often manifested at sundry places, at diverse times, or with other different circumstances: or contrariwise, did not diverse effects oftentimes appeare in one and the same *time* and *place*, or accompanied after one and the same fashion, we should hardly so farre distinguish them, as that the presence of the one should not represent the other, or the remembrance of the one, not suggest a severall *notice* of the other. The coexistence of the one, would alwayes be taken as a cause of whatsoever event had before accompanied both. In events, which haue no permanent existence, nor obserue any certaine course, to sever or abstract each circumstance from other, is a matter not so easie to be effected by such as intend it, as to be altogether forgotten, or not intended. The want

not-

notwithstanding of such abstraction, or winnowing of circumstances, is the essentiall root of superstition, whose nature cannot be more fully notified, *than by a misdeeming of such circumstances, or adiuncts, as accompany extraordinary, or vnsuall events befalling vs, either for the true causes, or procurers of them, or for practicall associates, or coe-workers, fit to share with them in our loue or hate.* For this reason is grosse superstition most incident to mindes either great in themselves, or puffe't vp with externalls, but with all illiterate, and rude. Thus * *Clowis* King of the then heathen *Franks*, attributed the death of his first borne vnto the Christian Religion, which his Queene professed, or vnto Christ, in whose name the Infant had beene baptized. *Quia Puer in dei vestri baptizatus est nomine, Dñi nostri illum praesenti luce fraudaverant: Because the poore childe was baptized in the name of your God; therefore haue our Gods bereft him of his life.* And albeit the admirable patience, and chearefull thanksgiving of his Queene vnto her God, for taking her childe into a better kingdom, might haue beene an vndoubted testimony of greater comfort in calamitie, than *Clowis* his wonted Religion could affoord him; yet he giues his second soane for dead, vpon his first attachment by sicknesse; onely because baptized, as the former had beene in Christs name; *Et hic propter superstitionem vestram incurrit offensam: This childe also through your superstition hath incurred the displeasure of our Gods.* As if he had heard olde *Iacob* from remembrance of *Iosephs* miscarriage, bitterly complaining of *Beniamins* losse; *I shall be robd of my childe as I haue beene**. But this childes recovery of his bodily health did so farre rectifie the King

* *Annonius*
lib. 1. cap. 15.

* Gen 43.
vers 14.

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* *Christe, potentissime Deus, quem Crotilæ conuix mea colit pura mente, Trophæa mea tibi voueo fidei, tribuas si his ab hostibus triumphum victoria. His peractis (sayth mine Author) Alemanos invasit timor, victores Franci, victi, & Tributarii facti Alemanni. Annonius. lib. 1. cap. 15.*

King his fathers minde, as to take Christian Baptisme for no necessary signe, or forerunner of death to *French* Children. It did not (though) enlighten him to see the grossenesse of wonted heathenish or his nationall superstition, still apprehended by him as a true cause, because a perpetuall concomitant of his former good successe in battaile. But when he sawe this beginne to faile him in time of neede, and victory so farre gone vnto the *Almanes* his enemies, as there was smal hope his gods could call her back: out of the memory of his beleaving consorts, reverend mention of Christ, and declaration of his goodnesse, he burst out into this prayer; * *O thou most powerfull God Christ, whom my wife Cretilda worshipping with a pure heart, behold I vow the Trophies of my faith vnto thee, so thou wilt giue me victory over these mine enemies. This being said (saith mine Author) feare came vpon the Almanes, the French were Conquerers, the Almanes conquered, and made tributaries. This present helpe from God at the very point of perill, and extreame daunger, was a sure document, That sincere profession of Christian Religion was no bare adiunct, or concomitant, but an authorized messenger of health, of peace, and victorie.*

2. The like superstition did more desperately possesse *Maximinus*, the chiefe matter of whose accustomed glory was, That his raigne had neither beene pestered with famine, warre, or pestilence: the especiall cause of freedome, from which annoyances was by him imputed to his carefull worship of other gods, and zealous impugning of Christians. As if the temporaneall coexistence of these two effects had sufficiently

ently argued the ones causall dependance vpon the other. But God shortly after falsifies these foolish collections by fulfilling our Saviours propheticie; [*Cum dicunt pax & tuta omnia, tunc repentinum eis imminet exitium: Whilest they proclaime peace and securitie, sudden destruction comes vpon them;*] very remarkeably in this boaster. For all these three Purseuants of Gods wrath came vpon him, and his people, like *Iobs* messengers each treading on others heeles for hast. *Eusebius. lib. 9. cap. 7.*

3. More grossely did some late *Mahumetan** *Moors* ascribe their publique calamities vnto their lately deceased Kings, bringing in of Lyons, and sufferance of Wine to be brought in by Christians. And whether in hope of successfull reformation, intended by him, or to satisfie his ignorant peoples expectation of it: the Lyons were killed by his newly elected successors appointment; and the Wine brought in by Christians powred out in their open streetes. This superstitious iealousie of these barbarous *Africans*, though in these latter times more grosse than credible, may be exactly paralleld by the like disposition of moderne *Russians*. It shall suffice to quote the Author the matter related by him hath such semblance with the for-

**Thuanus lib. 7. anno. 1550. Cum paterna claudis causas superstitionis Mauri assignarent, quod rex captivus a Christianis vinum Fessam comportari passus esset, & Leones aleret, ille reipublice emendationem praeferebat, proimus quicquid erat vini in cellis per vr-*

beni effundi, et Leones sagittis configi iussit. Terram non ferro, sed ligno proscindunt, quod eo magis mirandum, cum terra eorum tenax et non arenosa sit, quaque Pinus nunquam crescit. Aranturi ligna complura, quibus terram subigunt, locoque vomeris utuntur, secum portare solent: scilicet, ut uno fracto, aliud, atque aliud, ne quid in mora sit in promptu habeant. Quidam ex Provincia Praefectis, quo Provinciales gravioere labore levaret, multos ferreos vomeres adferri fecerat. Cum autem eo, sequentibusque aliquot annis segetes aliqua caeli intemperie, expectationi Agricolarum non responderent, vulgusque agrorum suorum sterilitatem ferro vomeri adscriberet, nec aliud quicquam in causa esse putaret, Praefectus veritus seditionem, amoto ferro, suo eos more agros colere permisit. Vide Sigismundum Baronem de Rebus Moscoriticis. pag. 113.

mer,

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mer, that the addition of discourse, would rather obscure, than adde luster to their mutuall representations.

4. All are alike apt to search, though all not alike able to finde the true, or discover the colourable causes of every effect, which much concerne them. And as Land, for want of direct heires, falls oft to collateralls of the same progenie; so *time* and *place*, because of kinne vnto every effect, are by the ignorant, or misaffected reputed Lords, or disposers of successe, good or bad, to which no cause apparant makes evident claime. A liuely character of this disposition, thus apt to take the impressiion of error, wee haue in that Poeticall description of *Aecus* and his people, which wrongfully indited their beds and houses of the disasters which befell them *Fugiuntq; penates*

*Ovid. Met.
lib. 7. fabula
26.*

*Quisq; suos, sua cuiq; domus funesta videt,
Et quia causa latet, locus est in crimine notus.*

*The houses deem'd to breed their bane,
the owners quite disclaime;
And since the cause they doe not knowe,
the knowne place beares the blame.*

*Idem. lib. 4.
fab. 14.*

And in that other of *Cadmus* *Serieq; malorum
Victus, & ostentis, quæ plurima viderat, exit
Conditor vrbe suâ, tanquam fortuna locorum,
Non sua se premeret:*

*Affright with many a direfull sight,
the Founder leaues the Towne;
As if th' ill lucke which hunted him,
had beene its, not his owne.*

It was a blast of the same superstitious doctrine, or blind perswasion which impelled the *Philistines* to carrie the *Arke* from place to place. 1. *Sam.* 5. vers. 7. vsque ad cap. 6. v. 8.

5. The confidence of a good cause would scarce so much haue animated the Princes of *Germanie*; as the very name of the places^a, wherein some of their ranke haue beene foyled, would haue deterred them from adventuring battle vpon tearmes otherwise equall. And the *Scottish* nation, vnlesse our Writers haue wronged them, would sometimes haue fought with the *English* vpon any festivall day in the yeare sooner than vpon *Magdalene* day, as fearing lest the ill happe, which it brought them, had not beene expiated with the reiterated penitentiall sacrifices of many widowesteares. Howbeit I may not condemne all warinesse, or serious observation of ominous significations, which time or place, with their circumstances may afford. There is a meane, though not easie to finde, and harder to hold, betweene superstitious feare, and presumptuous boldnesse in this kinde. That naturall inclination, which in many degenerates into impious devotion, requires as well a skilfull moderator, as a boisterous corrector. But this is an argument, wherein I had rather be taught, than teach, though somewhat hereafter^b must be said for mine owne, or others information. Of much heathenish superstition in this kinde, the Monasteries of our Land haue beene fertile nurseries; as the *Grecian* cleargie is this day tainted with curiosities of this ranke, as vniustifiable,

^a Hic exitus pugna ad Mulbergum commissa fuit; cuius loci nomen rivis principibus male ominosum semper fuisse a curiosis rerum Germanicarum observatum est. Si quidem ad Mulbergum *Baioaria* *Ludovicus IV. Fredericum ducem Austriae* et *Henricum fratrem* anno. S. C. CCC. XXIII. *Rupertus* item Imperator, centesimo circiter anno post, *Bernardum Badenensem Marchionem* ad *Mulbergum* su-

^a *pra* *Nemetes* *Capit. Iac. Ang. Thuan. Histor. lib. 4. pag. 77.* ^b In the Treatise of Prodigies, or the third Section of divine providence.

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as the scrupulosities of many olde women to beginne any worke of their vocation, vpon the same day of the weeke on which the feast of *Innocents*, or *Childermas*, (as they tearme it) did fall the yeare before.

6. But neither can auncient Story, Poeticall description, or knowne experience of any moderne disposition so well set out the manner how these naturall seeds of superstition are set on working by intemperate desires, or icalous feares, as doth that sacred relation of *Balaak & Balaams* conspiracie to curse the *Israelites*. Whatsoever *Balaam* thought of this businesse; *Balaak* out of his inbred superstition was perswaded, that the very place or prospect had beene a cause concurrent to produce the effect, for which he supplicated vnto his god. *Balaak* tooke *Balaam*, and brought him vp into the high places of *Baal*, that thence he might see the utmost part of the people*. But *Balaak* feared (as by the words following it seemes) that *Balaam* saw too many at once, that this place was too high, a fitter leuell for a blessing than for a curse. And *Balaak* said vnto *Balaam*; what hast thou done vnto me? I tooke thee to curse mine enemies, and behold thou hast blessed them altogether. And he answered, and said; Must I not take heede to speake that which the Lord hath put in my mouth? Yet this protestation perswades *Balaak* onely to alter his station, not his minde. And *Balaak* said vnto him; Come I pray thee with me vnto another place, from whence thou maist see them; thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all, and curse me them from thence. And he brought him vnto *Sede-sophim* (a place by the very name apt to enchant a superstitious minde with expectation

* Num. 22.
41.

expectation of successe) to the toppe of Pisgah, and built seaven Altars, and offered a bullocke, and a ramme on every Altar*. As before triall made, he hoped the change of place would haue altered his lucke; so after returne of the like answer, he suspects the Prophets wordes as causes of his mishappe, and would hire him to be silent. And Balaak said vnto Balaam; neither curse them at all, nor blesse them at all. But Balaam answered, and said vnto Balaak; Told not I thee saying; All that the Lord speaketh, that I must doe*? So strong is the conflict betweene the ingrafted notion of Gods power to blesse or curse whom he pleased, and the vnrighteousnesse, wherein it is detained, that after a sentence passed against him, he will yet remoue his suite to another Court. Againe Balaak said vnto Balaam; Come I pray thee; I will bring thee vnto another place, if so it may please God that thou maist thence curse them for my sake*. And lastly perceiving his triple attempt to curse had procured a Trinitie of blessings (perhaps a blessing from the Trinitie giuen by each person in course) the last more effectually than the former; he abandons the Prophets companie as an vnluckie guest. Of Israel saith Balaam: He coucheth, and lyeth downe as a young Lyon, and as a Lyon: who shall stirre him up? Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee. Then Balaak was very angry with Balaam, and smote his hands together. So Balaak said vnto Balaam; I sent for thee to curse mine enemies, and behold thou hast blessed them now three times: Therefore now flee thou to thy place*. Had God vpon some extraordinary provocation of this peoples vnexpiated sinnes, permitted the hireling Prophets curse to haue hit them; the place, whence

* Num. 23.
ver. 11, 12,
13, 14.

* Ver. 25, 26

* Ver. 27.

* Chap. 24.
ver. 9, 10, 11.

it

Seccio. 3. it was directed, should haue beene either ioynt sharer with old *Baal* in sacrifices, and other divine honours, or else haue brought forth some other like new God. Or if the second arrow had spedde, *Baal Pisgab*, or *Sede-sophim*, had beene more famous amongst the *Moabites*, and their affrighted neighbours, than *Baalzebub*, or *Baal Peor*; vntill the memorie of this successe had beene Eclipt by events more glorious, elsewhere manifested.

7. The multiplicite of Topicke gods amongst the heathen could hardly haue beene hatcht without a coniunction of the afore observed imbecillity of mans vnderstanding, or confused apprehensions of *time*, and *place*, as cogenitors of effects begotten in them, and of such affections or dispositions, as the holy Ghost deciphers in *Balaam*. The invisible power, which filleth every place with his presence, comprehended by none, was confined within the circumference of that peculiar roome, wherein it had beene sensibly manifested. From his dominion over the fields, testified sometimes by abundance, sometimes by scarcitie rare and vnusuall, they imagined a god of the field distinct from gods of the woods or waters. From declaration of his power, or secret touches of his presence in their houses or bodies (whether by participation of his goodnesse, or permission of euill Angells to torment them, *Dij Tute'ares*, *Penates*, or *Lares*; Gods Protectors of their houses, or families, or Guardians of their persons had their originall. And seeing there was no corner of the world, wherein the invisible and hidden power of God was not sometimes remarkably manifested in his effects: the former gap
once

once opened ; there could be no restraint of this superstitious vanitie. Idolatrie from this one roote might spread as broad, as the world was wide. The visible and knowne Elements, having one common matter for their mother, each symbolizing with other in some homogeneall qualitie, were allotted to three brother gods ; The earth to *Pluto*, the water to *Nep-tune*, the ayre to *Iupiter*, from whose Tribunall, lightnings were sent out, as proclamations, to affright these inferior rebellious regions, and *thunderbolts* as arrowes of vengeance, or executioners of his denounced wrath. The severall Quarters of every regiment (of the earth especially) were assigned to Deputie Gods, or Presidents, yet so, as varietie of *time* had sometime joynt suffrage with distinction of *place* for erecting these lesser gods, which were as Tenants or Cottagers to the three great Lords, or supposed heires of this visible sphere. Night lightnings by the auncient *Romanes* were entertained as messengers of *Summanus*. Such onely as came by day were accounted as sent by *Iupiter*.

8. These experiments, which are as so many *pro-bats* of the Philosophicall rules premised, should hardly merit so much credit with me, vnlesse the holy Ghost, in registering the idolatrous errors of some heathens, had warranted as well the truth of the instances, as the causes assigned by vs of the error. The *Aramites* had felt the power of *Israels God* in the mountaines to their smart, and yet are confident to finde succour from other gods as powerfull to plague the *Israelites* in the plaine.* And the servants of the King of Syria said vnto him ; Their gods are gods of the hilles, therefore they

M

were

* 1 King 20.
ver. 23, 24,
25.

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were stronger then we; but let vs fight against them in the plaine, and surely we shall be stronger then they. And doe these things; Take the Kings away, every man out of their place, and put Captaines in their roomes: And number thee an Army like the Army that thou hast lost, horse for horse, and Charet for Charet: and we will fight against them in the plaine, and surely we shall be stronger then they. And he hearkened vnto their voice, and did so. The Romanes superstitious confidence in the vanquished *Troiane* gods, was happily nursed by the same ignorance, a spice whereof we may obserue in rustique vnthritie gamblers, which hope to avoid ill lucke by changing place. That querulous complaint, which the *Israelites* vented in the wilderness, had bene settled vpon the lees of *Arams* and *Moabs* Idolatry. These heathens were not so credulous of successe against evident signes of Gods displeasure; as the *Israelites*, after experience of his miraculous refectiōs in their thirst, were incredulous of his power to provide meat in their hunger.

* *Can God* (said they) *furnish a table in the wilderness?* Beholde he smote the rocke, that the waters gushed out, and the streames overflowed; Can he giue bread also? Can he provide flesh also for his people? It was but an easie steppe in heathenish times to translate the diuine powers *à loco ad locatum*, from the place, wherein the effects wrought by them were compassed, to such inanimate creatures, as were their instruments in proaucing them. So *Augustus* lying weatherbound, and suspecting lest his suite to *Iupiter* his brother, the supreme Lord of the ayre, might finde as vnspeddie admission or dispatch as poore mens petitions did with such great Kings as *Augustus* was, forthwith sacrificed to the winde, that lay

* *Psal.* 78.
ver. 15, 16,
17, 18, 19,
20.

lay fittest for bringing him to the haven of his desires. *They that goe downe into the deepe* (saith the *Psalmist*) *see the wonders of the Lord*. The like documents of Gods immediate hand in raising & asswaging stormes by sea, as inspired this sacred breath with propheticall hymnes of his prayes, inticed the *Romanes* to sacrifice to the *floods* or *waues* for the safetie of their Navies; * *Nostri Duces mare ingredientes immolare hostiam fluctibus consueverunt*; Our Generalls when they goe to Sea, use to offer *Sacrifices* unto the *floods*. And vpon speciall deliverance from a dangerous storme, they invested the latent power of the vnknowne God with the knowne name of the much feared effect, prevented, as they supposed, by their Idolatrous devotions:

* Cic. lib. 3. de natura Deorum circa medium.

*Te quoq; tempestas meritam delubra fatentur,
Cum penè est corsis obruta puppis aquis.*

*When shippes on raging Cor-sicke Seas,
by stormes were well nigh lost;
To garnish Lady Tempests Shrine,
our Fathers spar'd no cost.*

Their folly was lesse in seeking to appease the *tempest* which stirred the *waues*, than in supplicating to the *waues*, which could not cease so long as the *tempest* lasted.

9. These foolish practises of such as the world accounted her wisest sonnes, though they cannot iustifie the like foolery in illiterate, or meaner persons; yet may they iustifie the learned critics correction of the

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Antiquè sic.

Επιδομή-

σας τῷ Βο-

ρέα. Ἰδίων

ὁψάριον

αὐτὸ ἐν ἑ-

λαβον ἐψή-

σων φακῶν.

* Vide cau-

sal inc 8.

l. 9. Athenai.

Alexandri

ex Eleunte in

Achæorum

portum na-

vigasse plu-

res scribit,

nauiq; præ-

toria guber-

natorem fu-

isse: quumq;

iam in medys

Helleponti

fluctibus ver-

saretur, tau-

rum Neptu-

no ac Nerei-

dibus mac-

tasse, aureaq;

Phiala in

mare profusa

Libasse. Ar-

rianus de ex-

pedit. Alex-

andri lib. 1.

poore Fishermans speech in * *Athenæus*; albeit by amending his words, he hath made his meaning a great deale worse, then it was formerly conceived to be. For he brings him in sacrificing to the North winde, as the most of his profession in auncient times vsually did. * *Alexanders* sacrificing in the midst of *Hellepont* vnto *Neptune*, and the sea-Nymphs, was no lesse Idolatrous, but neither so properly, nor grossely superstitious. Howbeit even the most grosse, and superstitious mistakings of these Heathens last mentioned, differ rather in subiect, and matter, than in forme, from an error common and vsuall, and in a manner the fatall consequent of a necessary practise in moderne Schooles, to wit, of *Denominating* or *notifying* things indistinctly apprehended by their references, or vicinitie vnto certaine and knowne circumstances. Thus because we know not the determinate distance of the Moone from the Center, or supreme sphere, we define the place of it (as of every other bodie) by the *convexe surface* of the sphere, which environs it. And by this *concretion*, or confusion of the externall reference, or notification, with the thing we seeke to notifie; the highest orbe, or supreme sphere hath in the conceit of many, lost all right to any distinct proper place, because it is destitute of a *surface*, or superior covering; so againe by notifying the differences, or set parts of time by the numerable, and knowne parts of motion, which accompany it; the proper and essenti-*all notion* of time is vtterly drowned in our conceit of motion. And as we imagine those bodies, which are not contained vnder some other, to be in no place: so we misconceiue there should be no time, vnlesse it were

were ensheathed in motion. Whereas the*Philosopher did not intend, that the Definitions either of *time* or *place* by him assigned should be essentiall; But (as all Physicall definitions (by his precepts are, and ought to be) causall, or connotative, such as is that; *Ira est ebullities sanguinis circa cor: Anger is the boyling of the bloud about the heart.*

Cap. 18.

* Aristot. 2.
Physic.

10. This pronenesse of mans imagination to be misled by circumstance of *time* or *place*, by other adjuncts, or instruments of his manifested power, the Lord *foresaw* in his chosen people, and sought in solicitous manner to inhibit by his Law and Prophets. To this purpose is the vnitie of his infinite, and incomprehensible Maiestie, so often and vsually emblazened by varietie of glorious attributes framed from the multiplicite of subiects, or varietie of effects, wherein the efficacy of his *power*, *iustice*, or *goodnesse* are, or haue beene most remarkably manifested. Men by this meanes, (so they would by any) might be occasioned to abstract, and purifie their conceits of *him* from those *concrete*, and vnpurified apprehensions, wherein the Heathen did either burie, or imprison such *notions* as either nature had engrafted in them, or traditions communicated vnto them. From discovery of his powerfull hand in managing warres he is entyled the *Lord of Hosts*, or the *Lord strong and mightie in Battell*: and yet withall, a *God of peace*, and one that *maketh warres to cease*; A *God of wisdom*, and a *God of glorie*, and yet, a *God that hath compassion on the poore*, and *despiseth not the weake, and sillie ones*. And as if he had feared, lest *Israel* vpon such occasions as seduced the *Romanes*, might misdeliuer deuotions, confusedly

Sectio .3

* Psal. 95.
ver. 3, 4, 5,
6, 7.
^a Exod. 17.
ver. 1, 3, &c.
^b Exod. 16.
ver. 3, 4, &c.

intended to him, vnto stormy waues, or tempests, or with the *Aramites*, confine his power to vallies, or mountaines, or with others, make him a God of the sea onely, not of the land; He hath sounded a counterblast to those impulsions, wherewith the heathens were driven headlong into Idolatrie, in that excellent song of Iubile; *The Lord is a great God, and a great King aboue all Gods. In his hand are the deepe places of the earth, the strength of the hills is his also. The sea is his, and he made it; and his hands formed the drie land. O come let vs worship, and fall downe; let vs kneele before the Lord our maker. For he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheepe of his hand**. It was his pleasure to try them ^awith penurie of water after he had tried them ^bwith scarcitie of bread, that by his miraculous satisfaction of their intemperate desires of both, as also of their lusting after flesh, he might bring them to acknowledge him for a God, as powerfull over the foules of the aire, as over the fish in the sea, as able to draw water out of the hard rocke, as to raine bread from heaven. And having indoctrinated them by their experience of his power in these, and like particulars, he commends this generall precept, or morall induction to their serious consideration: *Hath God assayed to goe, and take him a nation from the middest of another nation, by temptations, by signes, and by wonders, and by warre, and by a mightie hand, & by a stretched out arme, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes: Out of heaven he made thee to heare his voice, that he might instruct thee, and vpon earth he shewed thee his great fire, and thou heardest his words out of the middest of the fire. Know there-*
fore

for preventing the formentioned occasions of superstition.

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Cap. 19.


fore this day, and consider it in thine heart, that the Lord he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, there is none else*. And lastly; That no sencelesse, or living creature, through the faulty ignorance of man, might vnawares purloine any part of his honour, the Psalmist hath invited all to beare consort with his people in that song of prayse, and acknowledgement of his power: Prayse ye the Lord from the heavens: prayse him in the hights. Prayse yee him all his Angells; prayse yee him all his hosts. Prayse yee him Sunne, and Moone: prayse him all yee Starres of light. Prayse him yee heavens of heavens: and yee waters, that be about the heavens. Let them prayse the name of the Lord: For he commanded, and they were created. He hath also stablished them for ever, and ever: he hath made a decree, which shall not passe. Prayse the Lord from the earth yee dragons, and all deepes, &c. Let them prayse the name of the Lord, for his name alone is excellent: his glory is about the earth and heaven*.

* Deut. 4.
ver. 34, 36,
39.

* Psal. 148.
ver. 1, 2, 3, 4,
5, 6, 7, 13.

CHAPTER XIX.

*Of divers errors in Philosophie, which in practise
proued seminaries of Idolatrie and sorcerie.*

- I.  He best Apologie, which the greatest heathen clarks could make for themselves (for the grosser fopperies of the vulgar, they would not undertake to defend) was borrowed from a plausible Philosophicall opinion, thus expressed by the Poet:

Sectio. 3.

Virg. 4.

Georg.

pag. 94.

*Hence perhaps did that Paradox maintained by some Philosopher stake his beginning [Deus est materia prima]. The proposition in it selfe considered may be saved from heresie with a distinction of formaliter and eminenter. But the same proposition simply converted [Materia prima est Deus] includeth heresie, if not Idolatrie. The truth is [Deus est materia prima eminenter non formaliter. Materia prima non est Deus aut eminenter aut formaliter.]

*His quidam signis, atq; hæc exempla secuti,
Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, & haustus
Æthereos dixere: Deum namq; ire per omnes
Terrasq; tractusq; maris, cælumq; profundum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemq; sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,
*Scilicet hac reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri
Omnia: nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
Syderis in numerum, atq; alto succedere cælo.*

*Some by these signes and these examples thereto drawne
(have taught,
The soules of Bees to be divine, of heavenly spirits a
(draught;
For God say they, as find they may, who Natures workes
(peruse,
Through earth, through seas, through heavens profound
(live goodnesse doth diffuse.
From his live presence, Cattle, men, birds, sucke the
(spirit of life,
From him all springs, in him all ends: though death be
(nere so rise,
Yet nothing dies: what earth forsakes findes place in
(starry skie,
What we thinke into nothing flits, above the Heavens
(doth flie.*

This opinion was worse construed by some, than either the Author, or Commentator meant: many, the most auncient especially, agree in this; That *Deus* was *Anima mundi*, That the world was animated by God, as our bodies are by our soules. Whence they concluded, as some

Cap. 19.

Some later *Romanists* doe; That all or most visible bodies might be religiously worshipped, or adored, with reference to Gods residence in them. The Antecedent notwithstanding being graunted, the practises which they hence sought to justifie, are excellently refuted by *S. Austine**, who hath drawne them withall a faire and streight line to that marke, whereat they roved at randome or blind guesse, by wayes successively infinite. For answering any objection the Heathen Divines could make against vs, or refuting any Apologie made for themselves, I alwayes referre the Reader to this good Fathers learned labours, of excellent vse in his time. But my purpose is not to make men beleue these heresies are yet alive by hot skirmishing with them. The lines of my method rather lead me to vnrippe their originalls, so farre onely as not discovered, they might breed daunger to our times. Now in very truth the opinion pretended by them to colour the filth of their Religion, did minister plentie of fuel and nutriment, (as learned* *Mirandula* hath observed) to those monsters, whose limmes, and members had beene framed from the seeds of errors hitherto mentioned; and the illiterate in all probabilitie tooke much infection at eyes and eares, from Poeticall descriptions, or Emblematicall representations of Gods immensitie; such as *Orpheus* (if wee may beleue *Clemens Alexandrinus*) did take out of the Prophet *Esay. cap. 66. vide Clem. Alexand. lib. 6. Strom.*

Ipse autem in magno constans, & firmus Olympo est, Aureus huic Thronus est, pedibus subiecta q̃ Terra, Oceani ad fines illi protenditur ingens

Dextera,

* *Lib. 4. de civit. Dei. cap. 11, 12.*

* *Recolligamus quæ diximus, videbimusq; in primo nos gradu discernere Deum non esse corpus, ut Epicurei; neq; formam corporis, ut illi volunt, qui Deum asserunt animam esse cæli vel universi, quod et Ægyptij ut Scribit Plutarch exstimarunt, et Varro theologus Romanus, unde utrisq; magnum fomentum idololatriæ, ut alibi declarabimus Mirandula de ente et vno. pag. 249.*

Sectio. 3.

*Dextera, montanas atq; intus concutit illi
Ira bases, motus nec possunt ferre valentes.
Ipse est in cælis, terram complectitur omnem,
Oceani ad sinus expansa est, & manus illi
Vndiq; dextera*

Not held by them He heavens doth firmly hold,
Whole earth's but footstool to his throne of G. ld;
In's mightie Palme the Ocean vast doth rolle;
The rootes of mountaines shake at his controlle.
Or e Heavens, through earth his right hand doth ex-
It all in clasps, all it, not comprehend. (tend,

2. *Iupiter* (though acknowledged by many to be the onely God) from the former opinion became answerable to as many names as the world had principall parts, and vpon diversitie of relations to effects, or motions presumed to issue from his amiable, or liue presence, subdivided into both sexes; tearmed * *Nep-tune* in the sea; *Liber* in the vineyard; *Vulcan* in the Smiths forge, and *Vagitanus* in the Infants mouth; in the aire *Iuno*; in the earth *Tellus*; *Venilia* in the sea-waue whilest current to the land: *Salatia* in the same waue reciprocating. The meere varietie of names, or alteration of the sexe, or gender, would naturally suggest a multiplicity of gods and goddesses vnto the ignorant: so would the diverse formes or shapes of those bodies, whereof they imagined him to be the soule and spirit, vnto the learned; specially seeing the motions, or operations of the elements, or other inferior bodies haue no such vitall dependance vpon any one, or few principall parts of the world; as in man, all other members with their functions haue on the heart,

the

* Vide Aug.
de Civit. Dei.
lib. 4. cap. 11.

the head, and liver, or perhappes all originally on the heart. And yet the evident prerogative of these three parts hath perswaded great Philosophers to allot three severall soules really and locally distinct, to each principall part *one*. From which opinion it would with probability follow; that in one man there should be three living creatures: A *plant*, a *sensitiue*, and a *rationall substance*. And *Varro* the most learned amongst the *Romanes*, graunts that the auncient *Romanes* did worship mother *Tellus*, *Ops*, *Proserpina*, and *Vesta*, for distinct goddesses. Though these titles in his refined Theologic rather imported so many severall vertues of the earth, whose soule or spirit was but one: And not absurdly (as he thought) might other goddesses be reduced to this olde Grandame *Tellus*. But *S. Austine* demaunds how this can stand with the doctrine of his auncestors, which had ordained severall rites to all these, as vnto goddesses in nature different, and consecrated peculiar votaries vnto *Vesta*? It is not all one for one goddesse to haue many names, and to be many goddesses, or shall multiplicite and unitie be avouched of one and the same? It may be (saith *Varro*) that in one, many may be contained; but this avoydes not the intended checke. Saint *Austine* replies; That as in one, and the same man there may be many entities, not many men: so in one and the same goddesse there might be severall vertues, not severall goddesses. *Varroes* attempt to justifie his forefathers folly, and reconcile their grosse ignorance with his learned errors, evidently bewrayes whose successors the Iesuites or other quaint moderne refiners of Schoole Paganismes are, which hope to salve the contradictions of their doating forefathers, and erring

* Lib. 7. de
civ. Dei.
cap. 24.

Sectio. 3. erring counsellors, and patch vp the vnitie of their broken and diuided Church by Schoole glue or Philosophicall querks.

3. But concerning the animation of the world, and its severall parts, the opinions of Philosophers varied, and their variation caused varietie of Idolatrie: Every body had a peculiar spirit, or genius besides *Iupiter*, to whom the moderation of all was assigned; whence we may without breach of charitie suppose the worshipping of dumbe and sencelesse creatures to haue beene a practise though wicked in all, yet not altogether so brutish and sencelesse in some heathen as it is often generally censured without distinction. For even the elements or inanimate creatures, which they adored, had, in the opinion of some Philosophers, their proper spirits, though not to informe them, as our soules doe our bodies, yet to assist, or guard them; each of which spirits was held diuine, and indued with some peculiar power or vertue, for producing or averting certaine effects proportionable to the bodies. *Authors for skill as well practicke as speculative, not easie to be deceived; and for their gravitie and morall honestie exempt from all suspicion of purposed deluding others, haue related strange apparitions about *Mines*. The like might seduce some heathen to adore gold and silver, not as mettalls, but rather as visible pledges of an invisible Mammons presence, conceived by them as a spirit, or guardian of treasure, by whose favour (solicited in peculiar rites or services) wealth might either be gotten or increased. The like conceit, no question, moved the **Indians* to present a Casket of gold & jewels, with such a solemne maske, or

*Vide Georg.
Agricol. de
animalibus
subterraneis
&c.

*See the Bi-
shop of Casa
in his *India*
Relations.

or superstitious daunce, as they held most acceptable to their country-gods, in hope Gold the *Spanish* God, as they deemed it, being pleased with their devotions would appease the *Spaniards* crueltie. Why those semi-Christians should so hunger and thirst after gold, and mettalls, which could neither allay their hunger, nor quench their thirst, could not enter into these silly caitiffs hearts; vnlesse it were to sacrifice it vnto some Mammon, or spirit of Gold.

4. *Julian* the Apostata, albeit he spared no cost to make *Iupiter* his friend, whom he adored as King of gods, and chiefe moderator of the world, yet thought it no point of thrift or wisdom to neglect the Elementall spirits: because these in the heathenish divinitie, which he followed, were powers truly divine, able to qualifie their worshippers with the spirit of divination. Neither was this opinion of their Deitie in the censure of those times or sects, any Paradox, nor the offering of placatory sacrifices, any vnlawfull or superfluous practise. Otherwise *Amianus* his plea to acquite his Master from suspicion of sorcery, or Magicall Exorcismes had beene as ridiculous in the sight of Heathens, as it was impious in the judgement of Christians; * *Because this Prince a professed louer of all sciences, is by some maligned to haue gained the foreknowledge of things future by naughtie Arts: we are briefly to advertise by what meanes a wise man (as this Prince was) may attaine vnto this kinde of learning, or skill more than vulgar. The spirit of all the elements (saith this Author) being enquickned by the vncessant motion of the celestiall bodies, participate with vs the gift or facultie of divination: and the favour of the substantiall powers (or immortal*

sub-

* Et quoniam
erudito, &
studioso cog-
nitionum om-
nium Principi
malevoli
pranoscedi
futura pra-
vas artes as-
signant, ad-
vertendum
est breuiter;

Sectio. 3

unde sapienti
viro hoc quo-
que accidere
poterit doc-
trina genus
haud leue. E-
lementorum
omnium spi-
ritus, vixite
perenniu cor-
poru prasenti
motu semper

substances) being purchased by respectiue rituall obser-
uance; the prediction of Fates or destinie is conveyed unto
mortalitie from them, as from so many perpetuall springs or
fountaines. Over these substantiall powers the goddesse
Themis sits as President, so called by the Grecians, because
thei revocable fatall decrees by her mediation become cog-
noscible. This Themis the auncient Theologi haue there-
fore placed in the bedchamber and throne of Iupiter, foun-
taine of life and liuelihood.

& ubiq; vicens, ex his, quæ per d. disciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiscum munera di-
uinandi; Et substantiales potestates ritu diverso placata velut ex perpetuis fontium venis va-
ticina mortalitati suppeditant verba. Quibus numen præesse dicitur Themidis, Quam ex eo,
quod fixa fatali lege decreta præscire fas sit in posterum (qua Tithe-nena sermo Græcus appel-
lat) ita cognominatam, in cubili solioq; lovis vigoris vivifici Theologi veteres collocarunt.
Ammian. Marcellin lib 21.

Vide Sta-
phanum Pi-
ghium de
Dea Themis-
de.

Vide Gy-
raldum de
Tellure &
nocte.

5. Yet this conceipt of ^aThemis soveraignie was
not the opinion of all, or most auncient heathen Doc-
tors. For some haue taught, that ^bTellus (or the spi-
rit of the Earth) did giue Oracles before Themis med-
led in these businesses. During the time of both their
regencies; Nox by others was esteemed at least as mid-
wife of Revelations, whereof sometime she had beene
reputed Queene-mother, because these secret prædic-
tions of destinie, or fatall doomes were vsually brought
to light in silent darkenesses. Not much different
from Ammians Philosophy are many of Plutarchs con-
iectures of the inspiration and expiration of Oracles.
Iulian (it seemes) from Plutarchs Principles hoped to
encourage these divining spirits to follow their for-
mer studies, and recall them to their wonted seats, by
reviving their auncient rites, and reestablishing their
priviledges: as if *Honos alit artes* had place amongst
these pettie gods.

6. This

6. This Philolophicall opinion did fit the fore-mentioned temptation to superstition, as the *classe* doth the *keeper*. And with their impulsive helpe were able to draw the present Christian world not well catechized, into the bottomlesse sinke of foulest Idolatrie. And though from conscioussnesse of our ignorance in the workes of Nature, we allow the issue of many practises, whereof we can assigne no probable speciall cause, but onely in charitie to our selues and others, suppose they haue some right vnto their being by the ordinary course of nature: yet some disorderly over-growne stemples there be of this charitable credulitie, which bring forth little better fruit, than that which the Christian world condemned in *Iulian*. As for example, such as from vncertaine traditions can conceiue hope, and attempt the practise of curing diseases by *Amulets*, or by application of supposed medicines apparantly destitute of any naturall actiue force, will quickly be fet over to acknowledge some hidden vertue, or supernaturall efficacy concomitant, or assistant, which in plaine tearmes they will not call their God or Creator, yet will thinke of it, as of a good spirit, ready to helpe in time of neede, so it be sought vnto by such meanes, as the *Cabalists* of these secret mysteries shall prescribe. Whatsoever the matter of the medicine may be (though oftentimes it be rather verball, than materiall) the manner of applying it, is for the most part meere magicall, and serues (though not in the intention of the patient or Physician) as a solemne sacrifice to the founders of these Arts. Or if the manner of applying or wearing medicines be not superstitiously ceremonious, the solemne professing (though
alwayes

Sectio. 3. alwayes not verbally expressed) of credence, or beliefe prerequired vnto their efficacy, is Idolatrous. Of practises in this kind (though the practitioners will or can assigne no reason, saue onely traditions of lucke good or bad to follow; yet may we safely presume the most part to be naught; because we may evidently deriue the originall of many from conceits meerely heathenish and Idolatrous. Such is the vse of *Vervine*, of our *Ladies gloues*, and *S. Iohns grasse* at this day in no lesse request amongst some rude and ignorant Christians, than sometimes they were amongst the auncient *Grecians* or *Romanes*, to whose manners *Theocritus* and *Virgil* in their Poems doe allude:

Eglog. 8.

—— *Bacchare frontem*

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

*Leſt naughtie tongue whilst Poet's yong,
his braine doe blaſt;
Let luckie grasse 'bout his Temple paſſe,
to binde them faſt.*

That other peece of the same Poet concerning the vse of *Vervine*, smells too rankly of magicall sacrifice or incense:

Verbenas adole pingues, & mascula thura.

* *Eo magis
obtinuit, vt*

It may be questioned, whether the *Romane* *Legates
Legati publici ſancti habeantur: adeo vt, ſiquid Iuriſconſulto Martiano credimus, ſanctum vo-
cari cæperit a ſagminibus, id eſt, verbenis, quas herbas Romanorum Legati ferebant, ne ab ullo
violarentur aduerſus ius gentium. Quod ſi quis ipſos pulſaſſet, hoſtibus dedebatur ex ſententia
Q. Mutij. Forcat. Iuriſconſul: de Gallorum Imperio & Philoſoph. lib. 5. pag. 685.
Greg. Turonenſis tradit Legatos Francorum mitti ſolitos cum Virgis conſecratis, ne a quoquam
offenderentur. Forcat. Ibidem.

did

did weare *Vervine* vpon superstitious confidence of some hidden vertue in it, or as an emblematicall allusion to the superstitious conceit of the vulgar. But wouted they were to weare bunches of it in their solemn embassages, whether in token that their persons ought not, or out of vaine hope, that their persons could not be violated so long as they were vnder the protection of this hearbe, accounted sacred. The most superstitious hopes, implied in these, or the like practises of the Heathen, may be more then paralleld by the vaine confidence which some ignorant Christians put in the secret vertue of these, and like hearbes for curing strange diseases, or for their safegard against thunder, fiends, or wicked spirits. To this purpose I well remember a tradition, that was olde, when I was yong, better beleaved by such as told it, then if it had beene Canonically Scripture. It was of a maide that liked well of the devill making loue to her in the habit of a gallant young man, but could not enioy his company, nor he hers, so long as shee had *Vervine* and *S. Johns grasse* about her: for to this effect he brake his minde vnto her at last in rime:

*If thou hope to be Lemman mine;
Lay aside the S^t Johns grasse, and the Vervine.*

To robbe a Swallowes nest built in a *fire-house*, is from some old bell-dames Carechismes, held a more fearefull sacrilege, than to steale a chalice out of a Church. Besides tradition they haue no reason so to thinke. The prime cause of this superstitious feare, or hope of good lucke by their kinde vsage, was that these birds

N

were

Sectio. 3.

* Vide Gy-
raldum &c.
de dys pena-
tibus.

were accounted sacred amongst the *Romanes*, * *Dys* *penatibus*, to their household gods, of which number *Venus* the especiall *patroneffe* of swallowes was one.

7. Such a presidency as *Ammianus* assigned to *Themis* and the substantiall vertues of the Elements, is to this day given by these magicke *Cabalists* vnto spirits over *mettalls*, *stones*, and *hearbes*; each haue their severall *Patrons*. And if the practise be for the practicioners conceived good; the spirit which *prosperes* it shall not be reputed *evill*. Thus are the *Fayries*, from difference of events ascribed to them, divided into *good* and *bad*, when as it is but one and the same malignant fiend, that meddles in both; seeking sometimes to be feared, otherwhiles to be loued as God, for the bodily harmes, or good turnes supposed to be in his power. And permitted (no question) he is to doe both in iust punishment of their heathenish superstition or servilitie, that can esteeme him worthy either of religious loue or feare.

8. It was my happe since I vndertooke the Ministerie, to question an ignorant soule, (whom by vndoubted report I had knowne to haue beene seduced by a teacher of unhallowed arts, to make a dangerous experiment) what he saw, or heard, when he watcht the falling of the *Ferne-seed* at an vnseasonable and suspicious houre. Why (quoth he) (fearing (as his brieve reply occasioned me to conjecture) lest I should presse him to tell before company, what he had voluntarily confessed vnto a friend in secret about some foureteene yeares before) doe you thinke that the devill hath ought to doe with that good seed? No; it is in

in the keeping of the *King of Fayries*, and he I know will doe me no harme, although I should watch it againe; yet had he vtterly forgotten this Kings name, vpon whose kindnesse he so presumed, vntill I remembered it vnto him out of my reading in *Huon of Burdeaux*. And having made this answer, he beganne to pose me thus; Sr, you are a schollar, and I am none: Tell me what said the Angell to our Lady? or what conference had our Lady with her cousin *Elizabeth* concerning the birth of *S^t Iohn the Baptist*? As if his intention had beene to make by-standers beleue, that he knew somewhat more in this point, than was written in such bookes, as I vse to reade. Howbeit the meaning of his riddle I quickly conceived, and he confessed to be this; That the Angell did foretell *Iohn Baptist* should be borne at that very instant, in which the *Ferne-seede*, at other times invisible, did fall: intimating further (as farre as I could then perceiue) That this Saint of God had some extraordinary vertue from the *time or circumstance* of his birth. So faire a colour had his Instructor, by profession a Mathematician, by practise a Conjuror, cast vpon this superstitious, and vngodly *experiment*; as the most part of Magicall ceremonies or observances, pretend their warrant from some resemblances of sacred actiōs, or from circumstances of miraculous cures wrought by our Saviour, his Prophets, or Apostles. Many instances to this purpose are to my remembrance gathered by *Delrius*. This vpon mine owne knowledge, and observation I can relate; of two, sent more than a mile, after the Sun-setting, to fetch *South-running water*, with a strict Injunction, not to salute any either going

Sectio. 3.

* Misericordie credunt
qua volunt.

or comming, no nor their dearest friends, if they should chance to meete them (as by chance they did.) Such silence had well becomed them in Gods Temple; but in this case was the sacrifice of fooles, an offering vp of their tongues and lips vnto the service of Divells; yet colourable amongst the credulous by *Elishaes* instructions given to *Gebazie*, when he sent him to cure the *Shunamites* childe; albeit these literally import rather hast, than hope of good speed by their observance. All the hidden vertues of the forementioned seed, invisible, saue onely to the superstitious, I now remember not, nor were some of them fit to be related. But the rarer, or stranger efficacy it or other *beerbe* or *seede* may be conceived to haue, the more eagerly are they sought after by the needie or distressed; in body especially. * Extreame misery, or distressed full penury, occasioned by course of nature, not by violence, is by nature credulous, and apt to breede a good conceipt in the simple of any thing, that is publicly disliked or disallowed by the learned. And credulitie matching with eagernes of desire brings forth vaine hope, or stubborne confidence, without any iust externall occasion to beget it; as some females are fruitlessly fertile without the male. And hopes enlarged or augmented are forthwith in trauell of action, and long after practises for their accomplishment; although it be to offer solemne sacrifice to infernall powers: whose sacraments are the ostener, and more zealously frequented; because such grace, or good lucke, as by divine permission ensues vpon their celebration, is alwayes conferred *ex opere operato*. No strict examination of the communicants conscience; no pati-

patient expectation of Gods providence (from which as from a yooke burdensome to flesh and bloud, they exempt all that put confidence in them) is required vnto their efficacy. If they faile in operation, the present dammage or bodily danger is not great, onely so much labour lost: and speedinesse of resolution, or quicke manifestation of fatall doome, be it good or bad, naturally excites men beset with feare, or hope, to attempt the triall of such experiments, as are prescribed them. The Heathen * *Plinie*, well obserues *Magicall vanities or obseruances to haue drawn their first lineaments from Physicke, creeping into mens opinions vnder faire shewes, and sweete promises of health, much desired by all, but proffered by Magicians in extraordinary measure, and by meanes more sacred, than medicines sensible; and thus lastly to haue fastned their throne throughout all ages by a triple bond, by weaving Religion and Mathematicall Arts into their warpe, which was first spunne from Physicke. This opportunite of associating Mathematicall sciences was easily gained from that inbred desire, which all men haue of foreknowing things concerning themselves, and from a prenotion, that the foreknowledge of them is from heaven.*

* *Magicas vanitates sapinus quidem antecedentis operis parte, vbicunque causa locusque poscebāt, coarguimus, detegemusq; etiamnum: in praeis tamen digna res est de qua plura dicantur, vel eo ipso, quod fraudulentissima artium plurimum in toto terrarum orbe plura*

misq; sacris valuit. Auctoritatem ei maximam fuisse nemo miretur; quando quidem sola artium tres alias imperiosissimas humana mentis complexa in vnam se redegit. Nam primum e Medicina nemo dubitat ac specie salutari irrepsisse velut altioris sanctiorisq; quam Medicinam: ita blandissimis desideratisq; promissis addidisse vires Religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus. Atq; ut hoc quoque suggererit misuisse artes Mathematicas, nullo non modo futura de sese sciendi, atq; ea de cælo verissime peti credente. Ita postea hominum sensibus triplici vinculo, in tantum fastigium adoleuit, ut hodieq; etiam in magna parte gentium praeualeat, & in oriente regum regibus imperet. Vnde Plin. nat. h. st. lib. 30. in principio.

Sectio. 3.

* Vide Acts.
19. vers. 19.

8. The greater soveraigntie these curious gotten in the Easterne Nations, the more they mend the maiestie of Christs new erected kingdome, which could so suddenly put them downe, and the * contemplators of such grand mysteries to suffice their bookes and labours to the simplicitie of the Gospell. It may be want either of leisure well to examine, or of capacitie to conceiue, or perhaps of present memory to recall exactly what I conceived of some Paracelsian writings, when I read them, make me yet strongly jealous, lest as one Devill more than the Players had dressed is said to haue appeared vpon the Stage: so some spirit more than naturall doth sometimes insinuate himselfe into their curious extractions of spirits, and pretended search of medicines metaphysicall. In *Paracelsus* himselfe, though I vnderstood not all, yet some passages, I am certaine, are so plainly impious, that no man, which vnderstandes the principles of Christian Religion, will vndertake to make any orthodoxall construction of them. Besides the suspiciousnesse of their matter, the character of many of their writings ministred more iust occasion for vs to thinke, that one and the same spirit did breath in their Riddles, and in heathen Oracles; than the congruitie of *Auerroes* and *Mahomets* stile did vnto *Ludouicus Vives*, to avouch that he which lik'd well the writings of the one, could not much mislike the others *Alkaran*. As their pretended mysteries are vsually covered with the same veile of ambiguitie and obscuritie, wherein seducing heathenish Oracles were enwrapt: so the evasions to salue their Authors credit, when successe no way answeres the expectation, are

obvious. Either the right meaning of the Rule
 taken, or else there was some defect in the
 e. That *Paracelsus* and his followers, are schis-
 call Physicians, is too well knowne, vnlesse *Galene*
Hippocrates be not so orthodoxall, as the world
 counts them. But how iustly *Paracelsus*, and his fol-
 lowers ^b are charged by *Erastus* with the *Arrian* here-
 e, and with other doctrines of devills, with supersti-
 tious charmes, and magicke spells, either vnkowne
 vnto the ancient Heathen, or detested by the more in-
 genuous sort of them; I leaue it to their censure, which
 haue better leisure and opportunitie to examine;
 greater experience and deeper judgement to debate
 the controversie betwixt them: onely this perhaps I
 might in charitie wish, that as no man may minister
 ordinary Physicke vnto others without licence; so
 none might be admitted to reade their speculations,
 or try the truth of their professed mysteries, without
 publicke approbation, not onely of their sufficiency
 in learning; but of their sinceritie in Religion. For
 certainly great are the temptations, wherevnto this
 new, or late revived Philosophie exposeth wits (yong
 especially) or addicted to curiositie; so great, as they
 cannot be prevented, or resisted, but onely by mindes
 thoroughly grounded in the orthodoxall faith. Hy-
 perbolicall force, or pretended vertue, assigned by

^a Omne por-
 ro Mahome-
 tano um au-
 daciā supe-
 rat, quod ho-
 mo, non dicā
 impius (ni-
 mis enim le-
 ue est hoc
 verbum) sed
 planē Tarta-
 reus audet
 affirmare,
 spiritū mun-
 di (qui idem
 sit spiritus
 cum spiritū
 corporis no-
 stri) filium
 Dei esse con-
 spiciam, mi-
 nus purum et
 perfectum
 calore illo suo
 solari. *Erasti*
Disputat.
par. tertia.
pag. 43.
^b His accedit,
 quod se *Pa-*

racelsi discipulum esse non negat. quem *Arianum* fuisse nimis constat, &c. Sanē quos paulo no-
 tiores habeo *Paracelsos* (de illis loquor precipue, qui magistrū suū omnibus classicis scrip-
 toribus non ex æquare tantum, verum etiam præponere audent) vel ex certis argumentis, vel
 ex eorum scriptis, vel ex amicorum & familiarum ipsorum narratione, per se exi magia per
 quam stultiores esse. Cabalam et adep am Philosophiam *Paracelsi* in os notis palam laudare non
 erubescunt: quas tam certum est scelestam magia partes quasdam esse, quam est certum me vire-
 re dum ista scribo. *Erastus. Ibidem.*

Sectio. 3.


* Quicumq;
talem negat
medicinam
dari posse,
qua valeat
in corrupti-
bilitate sua
quamvis cor-
ruptionem in-
differenter
corrigere,
caelum infe-
riora susten-

them to their medicines, and the magnificence of the end proposed naturally inspires indefatigable alacritie in seeking or trying meanes possible to effect it. And curiositie of long and eager search, not satisfied, will at length be ready to claspe with practices superstitiously curious, rather than fayle. Such of their principles, as are approueable, perhaps more to be esteemed, than the received maxims of common Philosophy, or Physicke; are so interlaced with other stufte, or intimation of more hidden secrecies, that they may seeme layd but as baytes to draw youths to an implicit beliefe of their high mysteries, alwayes cloathed with a colour of Religion, as if they were the onely men, which vnderstood the grand mystery of the creation, and the precise manner of the resurrection. I should not much digresse, though I should enlarge this caveat, intended onely for young Students, lest they should be deceived through vaine Philosophy. Even in * Dorney (though he write more Christian-like than his Maister) there appeares some spice of that spirit of pride, which first sublimated Physicke into Magicke. It contents him not, that the matter of his medicines should be reputed truely celestiall; but his doctrine must be enstyled heavenly; he and his followers must be wisdomes children; their controvenaries sonnes of folly, the brood of darknesse.

tare vel gubernare negat. Sed ne videamur natura secreta Lenocinio prostituere velle, pauca de his sapientia filijs sufficiant: his facile quid per hoc velimus intelligunt. Qui vero nostram ignorant artem et vident, fugiant hinc procul, quoniam illis in ruinam est posita: ut quarentes non inueniant, et audientes non intelligant. Non est proiciendum rosas et margaritas ante porcos, ne pedibus eas, tanquam beram labijs eorum insuctas, eoculcent. Sapientia filij spiritui, non ore hauriunt alimentum, ut mente magis quam corpore viuunt. Interim tamen, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano, cupiunt, donec a natura vinculo soluta, tria haec in vnum rursus unita, viuant in aeternum. Dornaeus in Clauē Philosoph. Chymistiae, lib. 3.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the speciall nutriment which the Poetrie of auncient times did afford to the forementioned seedes of idolatrie, with some other particular allurements to delightfull superstition. That the same nutriment which feedes superstition, being rightly prepared, may nourish devotion.

I.  E that is a Poet by nature, or an habituall practitioner in the Art of Poetry, hath his wits alwayes tuned to such an high key or straine, as ordinary wits cannot reach, vnlesse they be thereto intended or stretched by the actuall impulsions of externalls much affected, or some occasioned fervēcy of desires. Fervency of desires though lodged in muddie breasts, not seasoned with a drop of *Helicon*, will intertaine bruit or inanimate creatures with such speech, & gestures, as if the one had reason, or the other sence. Oft doth extremitie of heate impell day-labourers, or feare of raine the husbandman to intreat the winde, as if it could heare as well as it is heard; *Blow wind, Gentle winde blow, &c.* Many out of deepe and inveterate discontent, will vent their curses in Poeticall fury, though in rustique phrase, against the place, wherein deserved mischief hath befallen them. Others out of the fullnesse of loue, courteous *nature*, or affectionate complement, will kisse the ground, from which they haue received extraordinary good. As *Charles* the fift after he had resigned the Empire, and bid the warres farewell, bestowed

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flowed his *osculum Pacis* vpon the Spanish earth, whereto in lieu of all benefits thence received, he solemnely bequeathed the residue of his retired life, & his wearied limbes, when death should take them. And Mariners after a tedious and dangerous voyage, will salute the shore with complement very suspicious to be daily practised by inhabitants. True imitation of affection, whilest it vents its fullnesse, is the best artificiall motive to breede or stirre affection in our auditors, or spectators. From imitation of mens speeches, and gestures in like exigences of affection, or plunges of vehement desires came Prosopopeia's first in request amongst Rhetoricians; a forme of speech very effectuell, and approueable in its right subiect, the circumstance of *time* and *place* duely observed. But the frequent vse of it in Panegyricall Orations about Martyrs graues, did first occasion that grosse Idolatrie of invocation of Saints; although it came not till long after by degrees insensible (as it were an huge cesterne filling by continuall droppings) to that height, wherewith it so swelled in the *Romish* Church, as it had almost overflowne the whole world besides. Yet as these Panegyricks were very auncient: so the first beginning of Prosopopeia's might as easily occasion the Heathen to mistake Christian devotions as the vnseasonable imitation of their first vse, did seduce Christians afterwards to an heathenish conceit of deceased Martyrs. So short had the vsuall passage from these figuratiue and affectionate exclamations to idolatrous invocation of men departed beene: That the heathen either out of their own experience, that such Prosopopeia's were introductions to Deifications of men

men deceased, or from some reliques of their first leaders dispositions propagated vnto them, did dig the bodies of noble Martyrs out of their graves, throwing others after torture into the sea, as fearing lest their Encomiasts should adore and worship them after the same maner they themselves did their grand Patrons, great benefactors, or Heroicks, whom breath of flattery, (as the next discourse sheweth) sought of dead men to make living gods.

2. These exclamations were more risely, more dangerous in Poets, than in Orators, or such as vsed them not but vpon externall impulsion, and in a maner against their wills: As are the Poets names, so is their nature: *Makers* they are, and herein they imitate the *maker* of all things, that they call things that are not, as if they were, and strue to infuse the spirit of life and motion into every subiect they take in hand; as they faine *Pygmalion* did into his Image. So womanish are we all, that are borne of women; that our delightfull and choise conceites desire alwayes to haue their pictures drawne in seemely luster and proportion, and we solace our internall fancies with looking on these outward Images; as Gentlewomen doe themselves by gazing on their owne faces represented vnto them in a favourable glasse. Of thoughts or fancies, the Poet is the onely picturer. Such amongst the Heathen as had the right trickes of this art, would alwaies either invest their *matter* with the shape, or grace it with the presence of some goddesse; nor matter nor manner of speech ordinary, or meere humane could content them. From this strong bent of affection, ioyning with the high frame of speech, or invention

Section. 3. tion peculiar to Poets, did their fervent wishes or ejaculations hitte that point in a moment, whereto others affectionate exclamations or Rhetoricall Prosopopeia's did rather slide than flie. The winde whiles it is apprehended as a messenger of loue, is placed aboue his ranke:

Vergil. *Daphni ferat tibi ventus ad aures!*

So is the *Aire* made by another Poet in a manner joynt sharer with God in invocations for revenge:

Ovid. *Audist hæc Æther, quiq; est Deus ultor in illo.*

*O Heavens, O God heare this,
Who in the Heavens Avenger is.*

These artificiall formes of speech, by proesse of time and opportunie, became patternes of practise in earnest vnto others; and liuelesse creatures, to whom such prayers or wishes were thus by way of Poeticall complement tendered, did sometimes encroach vpon the expresse titles of God, to whom invocation is onely due.

*Somme quies rerum, placidissime somme Deorum,
Pax animi, quem cura fugit, in pectora duris
Fessa ministerijs mulces, reparaſq; labori.*

*O sleepe the sweetest of all Gods,
that giueſt all things rest;
The peace of mind, that ſcarrs all cares,
with labour hard oppreſt;
Our bodies thou doſt recreate,
and with new strength inueſt.*

Another

Another Heroicall Poet makes the Princeſſe (which had expoſed her husband to the ſword by inſtigating him to recover his right by it) preſent her ſupplications to dumbe creatures, whileſt ſhee ſought her husbands corps by night amongſt the ſlaine in ſuch a ſtile, as were enough to caſt a muſing Reader into a waking dreame or imagination, that the walls, the houſes, the very ſoile whercon ſhee trod, had beene animated with ſome peculiar Genius, capable of friendſhip and foe-hood :

*Horruit Argia, dextraſq; ad mœnia tendens,
Urbs optata prius: nunc tecta hoſtilia Thebe:
Si tamen illæſas reddis mihi coniugis umbras
Nunc quoq; dulce ſolum*.*

* Statius.

*With grieve ſhe regrowne to Theban-walls her ſuppliant
(hands ſhee bends,
Oh Cittie late too dearly lov'd (ſince love in ſorrow ends)
Now hoſtile Thebes: yet ſo thou wilt my Conſorts
(Corps reſtore,
Still ſhalt thou be, a Soile to me, as deare as heretofore.*

Theſe, or the like ſpeeches of heathen Poets, if by Chriſtians they may not be uttered without reproofe; *Lactantius* his cenſure of *Tullie* for his too lavish Rhetoricall *Proſopopeia* made vnto *Philophie*, ſhall ſave me a labour. * *O Philophie, the guide of life, the ſearcher out of vertue, the banisher of vice, without thee not onely wee thy followers ſhould be no bodies: but even the life of mankind could be nothing worth, for thou haſt beene the Foundreſſe of Lawes, the Miſtreſſe of manners and diſcipline.*

* *O viſa Philoſophia dux
(inquit) &
virtutis in-
dagatrix, ex-
pulſrixq; vi-
riorum, quod
non modo nos,*

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*sed omnino
vita hominū
sine te esse
non potuisset!
Tu Inventrix
legū, Tu ma-
gistra morū,
ac disciplina
fuiſti: Quasi
verò aliquid
per se ipsa
sentiret, ac*

*non potius ille laudandus esset, qui eam tribuit? Potuit eodem modo gratias agere cibo, & po-
tui; quia sine his rebus vita constare non possit, in quibus ut sensus, ita beneficij nihil est. At-
qui illa corporis alimenta sunt, sic anima sapientia. Lactan. de falsa sapientia, lib. 3. cap. 13.*

pline. As if forsooth (saith this Author) Philosophie it selfe could take any notice of his words, or as if He rather were not to be praised which did bestow her. He might with as good reason haue rendered the like Rhetoricall thanks to his meate and drinke; for without these, the life of man cannot consist, howbeit these are things without sense. Benefits they are, but they can be no Benefactors. As they are the nourishment of the bodie, so is wisdom or true Philosophie of the soule.

3. That the seminaries of Poetrie should be the chiefe nurses of Idolatry, argues how apt the one is to bring forth the other; or rather how both lay like twinnes in the wombe of the same vnpurified affecti- on, vsually begotten by one spirit. Woods and foun- taines, as every Schoole-boy knoweth, were held chiefe mansions of the Muses, to whose Courts the Poets resorted to doe their homage, invoking their aide, as the goddesses whom they most renowned, hereto allured by the opportunitie of the place. The pleasant spectacle and sweete resounds, which woods and shadie fountains afford, will sublimate illiterate spirits, and tune or temper mindes, otherwise scarce apt for any, to retired contemplations. They are to every noise as an organized bodie to the soule or spi- rit, which moues it: Gentle blasts diffused through them, doe so well symbolize with the internall agita- tions of our mindes and spirits, that when wee heare them, we sceme desirous to vnderstand their language, and learne some good lesson from them. And altho they

they utter not expressly what we conceiue; yet to attentive & composed thoughts, they inspire a secret seede or fertilitie of invention, especially sacred.

4. But is, or was the *notion* of the Deitie naturally more fresh and liuely in these seminaries of heathenish Poetry, than in other places? Yes, every vnusuall place, or spectacle, whether remarkeably beautifull, or gassy, imprints a touch or apprehension of some latent inuisible power, as President of what we see. Seneca's observation to this purpose will open vnto vs one maine head or source of heathenish Idolatrie, which well cleansed might adde fertilitie to Christian devotion. *In unoquoque virorum bonorum (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus.* To proue this conclusion, that God is neare vs, even within vs, thus he leads vs.
* If thou light on a groue thicke set with trees of such vnusuall antiquitie and height, as that they take away the sight of Heaven by the thicknesse of their branches ouerspreading one another: the height of the wood, the solitarinesse of the place, and the uncouthnesse of the close and continued shade in the open aire, doe ioyntly represent a kinde of Heaven on earth, and exhibit a prooffe vnto thee of some diuine power present. Or if thou chance to see a denne whose spacious concavities hath not beene wrought by the hand-labour of men, but by causes naturall, which haue so deeply eaten out, and consumed the stones, that they haue left a hanging mountain to ouerspread it like a Canopie, the sight likewise will affect the minde with some touch or apprehension of Religion.

* Si tibi occurrat vetustis arboribus, & solitam altitudinem egressis frequens lucus, et conspectum cæli densitate ramorum aliorum alios protegentium submouens: Illa proceritas sylva, & secretum loci, & admiratio umbra-

in aperto tam densa, atq; continua, fidem tibi numinis facit. Et si quis specus saxi peritus excelsis montem suspenderit, non manufactis sed naturalibus causis in tantam duritatem excavatus, animi tuum quadam Religionis suspitione percutiet. Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur: subita, & ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet: Coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, et stagna quadam velopacitas, vel immensa altitudo sacrauit. Seneca, Epistola. 41.

Sectio. 3. *We adore the heads of great Rivers, &c. Vide Parag. 8. & 9. of this Chapter.*

5. And because superstition can hardly sprout, but from the degenerate and corrupt seeds of devotion, wicked spirits did haunt these places most, which they perceived fittest for devout affections. As sight of such groves and fountaines, as *Seneca* describes, would nourish affection: so the affection naturally desirous to enlarge it selfe, would, with the helpe of these Spirits sleights and instigations, incite the superstitious to make their groves more retired, and sightly. Thus like cunning anglers they first baite the places, and then fish them: and their appearance being most vsuall, when mens mindes were thus tuned to devotion: the eye would easily seduce the heart to fasten his affections to the place, wherein they appeared, as more sacred than any other. And to the spirits thus appearing, as to the sole Lords and owners of the delightful soile, and chiefe Patrons of these bewitching rites and customes, they thought their best devotions were not too good.

6. Throughout the story of the *Judges* and *Kinges of Israel*, we may obserue how groves were as the banquetting houses of false gods; the trappes and ginnes of sacrilegious superstition. For this cause in all suppressions of Idolatrie, the commission runnes joyntly for cutting downe groves, and demolishing Altars. So God *Deuteronomie* the 5. after commandement given to destroy the *Amorites*, addeth this iniunction withall; *Ye shall overthrow their Altars, and breake downe their pillars; and ye shall cut downe their groves, and burne their graven Images with fire.* And vnto *Gideon* the first
(in

(in my remembrance) to whom this warrant was in particular directed ; *Threw downe the Altar of Baal that thy Father hath made ; and cut downe the groue that is by it.* Iudg. 6. v. 25. And *Ezekiah*, whiles he remoued the high places, and brake the Idolls, cut downe the groues. 2. King. 18. v. 4. The like did *Iosias* after him. 2. King. 23. v. 14. How auailable either this destruction of groues was to the extirpation, or the cherishing of them to the growth and increase of Idolatrie, the good successe of *Iagello* his like religious policie in winning the *Lithuanians* (his stiffly Idolatrous, and strangely superstitious Countrymen) vnto Christian Religion, may enforme vs. I relate the Story at large as I finde it ; because it conteines fresh and liuely experiments as well of this present, as of diuerse other observations in this Treatise. And no man will easily distrust auncient reports, when he sees them paralleld by moderne and neighbour examples. * *The common sort* (saith mine Author, speaking of the *Lithuanian* about two hundred yeares agoe) *was very stiff, and would hardly indure to be intreated to relinquish their Religion, being formerly accustomed to worship the fire for God, and to adore the thunder and lightning with diuine honor ;*

* *Actum antem in eo conventu, Vladislao Rege auctore, de plantanda Catholica in Lithuania fide, & Idolo-ū cultu pinitus abolendo memoratu-ū est.*

Rex non modo boni principis, sed & Apostoli munus suscepit. Nam non solum proponendis vulgo premiis ; sed docendis etiam, et voce, ac oratione mouendis, erudiendisq; populis tanta eius occuluerat patientia, ut nemo hac in parte rege superior, vix similis aliquis spectaretur. Dura porro, et inexorabilis admodum veteri cultu relinquendo extiterat multitudo, & pote quae ignem pro deo colere, fulmini diuinos honores deferre, lucos, et excelsas arbores in syluis sacrosanctas habere antiquitus consueuerat, quas vi, ferro, aut flamma, aut deniq; vlla alia violare ratione, nec fas, neq; tutum rebatur. Verum enimvero cum iussu, & auctoritate Regia illa partim oppressa, partim excissa, devastataq; essent, nec cuiusquam aut interitus, aut laesio exinde sequeretur : cum vero sensim effecti Lithuani molliores, Regio manata, & auctoritati cedere ceperunt, & tandem etiam Christo nomen dare, & Catholicam religionem certatim suscipere minime dubitauerunt. Varsenius in Parall.

Sectio.3. *set groves or trees in common woods of vnusuall height, had such authoritie from antiquitie for their sacred esteeme; that to cut or burne them, or offer them any violence, was reputed a sacrilege so fearefull, as would instantly provoke vengeance diuine. But the woods and groves being at length cut downe and wasted, without the destruction or harme of any imployed in this businesse, they grew more tractable, and (as if the woods had taught them obedience) began to belceue the Kings authoritie and command, becomming at length forward professors of Christian Religion.*

7. The like superstitious feare had *Constantines* resolution in reformation expelled out of the *Aegyptians*, who would haue perswaded him, that if he tooke their sacred *ell* or *fathom* out of *Serapes* Temple, the River *Nilus*, which was vnder this conceited Gods patronage, would cease to flow.

— At ille

Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ænum.

But whether Angells had not graced these nurseries of devotion by their appearance vnto Gods servants in them (especially before the Law was given) is easier questioned, than determined. The generall observation of errors springing from ancient truths imperfectly related, makes me suspect, that the apparition of Angels, or manifestation of Gods presence in like places vnto holy men, and their demeanour vpon such manifestations, was, by preposterous imitation, drawn to authorize the Idololatricall worship of such spirits, as the heathen had scene in visible shape; as

also

also of the superstitious esteeme, or reverence of the places themselves. For, in *Constantines* time, as *Eusebius* tells vs, the Heathens had erected their Altars in the oaken groue of *Mambree*, in which the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*.

2. Put whether *Constantine* though much offended with the Altar, did with it destroy the groue, is vncertaine. For albeit the title of the Chapter containing this story in our English *Eusebius*, takes it as graunted, that he did; the text notwithstanding leaues it doubtfull, if not more probable, that he did not. Nor was it necessary he should in this case follow the example of *Iosias* or *Ezekias*, having that libertie, which they had not, to build a Temple in the same place to the Lord; vnto zealous devotion in whose service the groue might afford no lesse plenty of fuell, than it had done to heathenish superstition and Idolatry. For that which feedeth superstition through want of instruction onely, or through licensed opportunities, not naturally, not of it selfe, would proue best nutriment of true devotion to such as haue the spirit of grace, or wisdom to digest it; especially if the practises which nourish superstition, be controlled by plausible custome or authority. No affection more fertile of either than the Poeticall temper, according as it is well or ill imployed. No place yeelds such opportunities for growth either of roote or branch, as woods or groues, or like throwdes, or receptacles of retired life: nor could the sight, or solitary frequenting any of these, haue nursed such strange superstition in the heathen, but onely by suggesting a liuelier notion of the Godhead, than vsuall objects could occasion. And if other

Section. 3. *set groves or trees in common woods of vnusuall height, had such authoritie from antiquitie for their sacred esteeme; that to cut or burne them, or offer them any violence, was reputed a sacrilege so fearefull, as would instantly provoke vengeance diuine. But the woods and groves being at length cut downe and wasted, without the destruction or harme of any imployed in this businesse, they grew more tractable, and (as if the woods had taught them obedience) began to belecue the Kings authoritie and command, becomming at length forward professors of Christian Religion.*

7. The like superstitious feare had *Constantines* resolution in reformation expelled out of the *Aegyptians*, who would haue perswaded him, that if he tooke their sacred *ell* or *fathom* out of *Serapes* Temple, the River *Nilus*, which was vnder this conceited Gods patronage, would cease to flow.

— *At ille*
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis/enum.

But whether Angells had not graced these nurseries of devotion by their appearance vnto Gods servants in them (especially before the Law was given) is easier questioned, than determined. The generall observation of errors springing from ancient truths imperfectly related, makes me suspect, that the apparition of Angels, or manifestation of Gods presence in like places vnto holy men, and their demeanour vpon such manifestations, was, by preposterous imitation, drawn to authorize the Idololatricall worship of such spirits, as the heathen had scene in visible shape; as
also

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mens mindes be of the same constitution with mine, our apprehensions of the true *God* as Creator, haue a kinde of spring, when he renews the face of the earth. *Presentemq; refert quelibet herba Deum.* The suddaine growth of every grasse points out the place of his preience; the varietie of flowers and herbes, suggests a secret admiration of his infinite beautie. In this respect, the frequency of seasons seemes most necessary in Citties and great Townes, that their Inhabitants, who (as one wittily obserueth) see for the most part but the workes of men, may see the workes of *God* speaking vnto them: whereas such as are versant in the fields and woods, continually contemplate the workes of *God*. And nothing more apt to awaken our mindes, and make them see his operations, than the growth of vegetables, without any inherent motion, or culture, and the experience of *sensitiues*, according to their ends more certainly without any span of reason, then *man* doth his by reasonable contriuation, artificiall policie, moued some heathens to plant groues, woods, birds, and sensitiue creatures of every kinde for gods; who yet neither worshipping dead elements, or liuing men. Dead elements they neglected, because their qualities lesse resemble the operations of the liuing *God*, with some notions of nature they were inspired. Liuing men they admired, not in that the cause of every action which they effected, and the manner of bringing their ends about was too well knowne. They saw little (it seemeth)

their neighbours, but what they knew to be in themselves, whom they had no reason to take for gods: and if one should have worshipped another, perhaps the rest would have called them fooles, as birds, or other creatures would have done, so they had knowne what worship meant: howbeit such men in every age as could either reveale secrets to come, or bring things to passe beyond the observation or experience of former humane wits, were even in their life accounted as gods, or neare friends vnto some god.

9. Others againe, that would have scorned to worship men, or almost any other *live-creature*, otherwise then vpon these tearmes, did adore the heads or first springs of * Rivers, whose continuall motion to feede the streames that flow from them without any visible originall, whence their owne store should be supplied, is by nature (not stilled by art) a sufficient motiue to call the invisible Creator, and fountaine of all things to mans remembrance. And some againe, whom sight of ordinary fountaines did lesse affect, were put in mind of some divine invisible cause, or prime mouer, by the annuall overflow of ^a Nilus, or the like experiments inscrutable by course of nature. The admirable effects of Nilus overflow, were the cause of that religious and brutish disposition, which ^b Seneca noteth in the *Egyptian* husbandmen.

* Vide Annotationem ex Seneca pag. 4. huius capitis.

^a Adeo autem natura hunc annum supra reliquos omnes extulit, ut eo tempore increfcat, quo maxime et feruoribus

terra aquam desiderat, expletura annum suum: cum in ea parte, quâ *Aegyptus* in *Aethiopiam* vergit, nullis aut raris imbribus adversus siccitatem adiuvetur. Cuius inerecentis fecundissimi ratio solidi unitati accepta ferenda est: frustra enim alias quisquam rationes ferusabitur. Et forte hoc pramio à mundi origine Deus *Aegyptum* remunerari voluit, prae sciens fore ut Christus sicutus in ea lateret, & Herodem crucem evaderet. Forcat. lib. 2. pag. 229.
^b Gynopolista Nilum venerantur magno cultu, ipsumque aquam, terramque simul esse praedicant. Ibid pag 230.

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Why the Egyptians neglecting heaven, did overesteem the River Nilus; See Section 1. chap. 4. par. 4. of this Booke.

*Vide Plin in Panegy.

* Non est omissa in ea re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent Druida (ita suos appellant magos) visio, & arbore, in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratus. Iam per se roborem eligunt lucos; nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt, unde appellati quoque interpretatione Græci possunt

Druida videri. Enimvero quicquid adnascatur illis è cælo missum putant, signumque esse electa ab ipso Deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inuentum, et reperiunt magna religione petitur: et ante omnia sexta Luna, qua principia mensium annorumque his facit, et sæculi post tricesimum annum, quia iam vitium abunde habeat, nec sit sui dimidia. Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificijs, epulisque ritè sub arbore preparatis, duos admodum cædidi coloris tauris, quorum cornua tunc primum vincuntur. Sacerdos cædida veste cultus arborem scædit, falce aurea demetit: Cædido id excipitur sago. Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum Deus prosperum faciat his, quibus dederit. Facunditate eo potius dari cuiusque animali seculi arbitratur, contraque venena omnia esse remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est. Plin. nat. hist. l. 16. p. 409.

the

* Nemo Aratorum in Ægypto Cælum aspicit.

No Plowman in Ægypt looks towards Heaven.

The like hath a Romane Poet:

* Te propter nullos Tellus tua postulat imbres,
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Iove.

Ægyptian earth sans Nilus streames no water knowes;
No parched grasse, or Ioue, or moistned ayre there wōes.

The soile being mellowed with this River, seemed lesse beholden to heaven, than Athens was; where (as some collect) the art of tilling the ground was first invented amongst the Grecians. Albeit I rather thinke it was the drinesse of the soile, wherein that famous Cittie stood, which occasioned that Idololatricall embleme, whence some haue taken occasion to coniecture, that the art of tillage was first manifested there. Athenis ubi ratio colendi agrum primum ostensa esse Græcis dicitur, simulachrum terræ extitisse suppliciter à Ioue pluviam comprecantis scribit Pausanias. Cornar de Re vinitoria. lib. 1. cap. 3 pag. 56. Some whether halfe Christians or meere Pagans, ranked by the auncient in the bed-rolle of heretickes, haue held the Marigold, and like flowers, not vncapable of divine honour, by reason of their like-sympathie with the Sunne. The auncient Galles did offer sacrifice vnto the ^a Mistleto, because

the manner of its originall is without example in vegetables, being caused (as they conceived) rather by secret celestiall influences, than by any earthly or materiall propagation. So easily are mindes, apt to admire things strange and vncouth, drawne through curiositie of observation, vnto superstitious and idololatricall performances. That in strange predictions we should apprehend the working of a diuine wisdom, which we apprehend not in our ordinary cogitations, though in them he alwayes worke, falls out no otherwise, than the like error in the common sort of heathen, in whom trees of vnusuall height, or like spectacles, did raise an imaginatiō of Gods presence, which sight of grasse, of ordinary hearbes, or lower shrubbes (though in the lowest of them he be continually present) could not prompt vnto their drowsie fantasies. As seldome are our imaginations so thoroughly awaked, as to take expresse notice of Gods presence without strong pushes of vnusuall accidents, or violent incursion of vnacquainted objects. *Much familiaritie breeds contempt* of their persons, whose presence, were it rare and vncouth, would beget admiration, awe, and reverence. This experiment so certaine in ciuill conuersation, that it is now growne into a Proverbe, is rooted in that vndoubted Maxime in matters naturall: *A consuetis nulla fit passio*, and it beares no better fruit in matters Theologicall. For albeit Gods presence be most intimate in our foules, and his working in other creatures, manifested vnto our eyes; yet because this *contact* of his presence is perpetuall, and the manifestation of his power continually obvious, wee usually haue no sense, or feeling of the one or o-

Soetia. 3. then, vntill it touch vs after some vnusuall manner; or open our eyes by presenting them with wonders. Howbeit whilst these are absent, to shake of the slumber, and to inapt vs, that are Christs Ministers, to be affected with Gods presence; such abstraction of our selues from secular turbulencies, as the Poets vsed, would be much available.

Ouid.

Carmina secessum scribentis, & otia querunt.

*Good verses alwayes doe require,
A vacant minde and sweete retire.*

* Horace.

Another thought he alwaies lost himselfe in the great preasse at Rome, without hope of finding himselfe, till he and his wits met againe at his rurall home; [* *Mihi me reddentis agelli.*] And is it possible wee should not perceiue a great losse of Gods presence, so long as we continue in places filled onely with the sound of secular contentions or debarements? wherein the world and devill finde opportunitie to instampe their image vpon our soules, preventing all impressiō of matters heavenly. But when we come into solitary or vncouth places, either deckt with native comelinesse and vnborrowed beautie, or never soyled by secular commerce or frequency: the conceipt of God and his goodnesse gaines first possession of our vacant thoughts, and ravisheth our mindes with the fragrancy of his presence. To haue some place of retire, which hath beene witnesse of no thoughts but sacred, is a great helpe vnto devotion; the renewed sight, or remembrance of every circumstance, or locall

call adjunct, occasions vs to resume our former cogitations without any curbe or impediment; which in places, wherein our mindes have much runne on other matters, we can hardly prosecute without interruption or mixture of worldly toys.

10. Would God it were free to make that harmlesse vse or application of these observations vnto others, which I haue often made, and hope to make each day more than other vnto my selfe. And though I expect not the concurrence of many men, no not of my brethren and companions to second me in my desire of that reformation, which I haue no great cause to hope I shall ever see in this Land, yet can I not deeme it a fruitlesse labour, to powre forth my wishes in the worlds sight, before *Him*, who alone can
 " doe all things. And what is thy servant, O Lord,
 " could most desire to see, or heare, before he goe
 " hence, and be no more scene or heard amongst the
 " sonnes of mortall men? That thy Temples through-
 " out this Land might be more secluse, and the lines
 " of thy Ministers more retired: That no action,
 " speech, or gesture, which beare the character of
 " conversation secular, or meerely civill, should once
 " so much as present it selfe to our senses, whiles we
 " approach thy dwellings: That in these short passa-
 " ges from our private lodgings to thy secluse and si-
 " lent Courts, we might perceiue as great an altera-
 " tion in our behaviour, and affections, as if we had
 " gone out of an old world into a new, or travelled
 " from one kingdome to another people.


11. Had not those priuiledges of retired life, where-
 with superstition had blest her children, beene held

Section. 3. too glorious by reformers of Religion, for reformed devotion to enioy ; the ingenuous povertie of the English Cleargie, might haue made the whole world rich in all manner of spirituall knowledge. The losse of Monasteriall possessions had beene light, if as in temporall States, the *honour* (with some competent portion of auncient inheritance) remaines entire vnto the next heire male, while the greatest part of the Lands possessed by the father, goes for dowrie vnto his daughters; so that libertie of enioying themselues which had beene peculiar to them before all priuiledges of secular Nobilitie, which impaired them, might haue beene reserved to the sonnes of *Levi*, though but with some corners of their auncient retired mansions, whose magnificēce had brought them vnto nothing. Retired life it selfe, is such an hidden treasury, as were it within kenne of possibilitie to be regained in these our dayes, Ecclesiasticall dignities, though offered *gratis*, would without equivocation be freely refused, even by such, as best deserue them. He that now brings iron would bring brasse, in stead of brasse we should haue silver, in stead of silver gold, towards the rebuilding of Gods Temple ; or, he that now scarce brings any quantitie of better mettall well refined to this good worke, would bring Pearle, Topas, the Onyx, and every precious stone in great abundance. But now, through want of these sacred gardens, which might haue beene stored with spirituall simples, the infectious disease of these Atheisticall and sacrilegious times, is become incurable in the Physicians themselues. Ambition, even in Gods messengers over-groweth age, and makes vs more vndiscreete
and

and childish in the period of maturitie, than we were in any part of our infancy. For few, if any of vs, or seldome, if at any time of our childhood, have *longed* to put on our best apparrell towards bed-time. And yet what trickes and devises, over and aboue all that *Machiwill* hath meditated, doe we put in practise, rather to over-burden, than invest our soules with titles of dignitie and honour; whilest our winding sheetes doe expect vs, as having one foote in the graue; within whose territories, Plowmen are full compeeres to Kings; where the spade may challenge precedence of the scepter; where the miter may not contest with the mathooke.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of Idolatrie occasioned from inordinate affection towards Friends deceased, or ceremonious solemnities at Funeralls.

I.  He implanted *notion* of the God-head, which with diversitie of affections, hath its *spring* and *fall*, was in some Heathens so buried; that nothing but sorrow for friends departed, or affection towards publique benefactors, could revine it. Such were the * *Augila*, a people of *Africke*, which had no gods besides the ghosts of men deceased. Their error, though grosse, was linked in a double chaine of truth: the one, that soules of men deceased, did not altogether

solebant, sepulchris incubantes, vs. Mela aliq; prodiderunt. Gyraldus histor. Deorum, Syn- tagma. 1. pag. 6.

* *Augila, & ipsi Africa populi,illos Deos putantes prater defunctorum manes, à quibus responsa petere*

cease

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cease to be: the other, that the things which are seene were ordered and governed by valseene powers; yet loath they were to beleue any thing, which in some sort they had not seene, or perceived by some sense. Hence did their generall *notion* miscarry in the descent vnto particulars, prostrating it selfe before sepulchers filled with dead bones, and consulting soules departed. Though not in the negatiue, yet in the affirmatiue part of these mens verdit concerning the gods, most Heathens vpon occasions did concur. The superstition might easily be either bred or fed from an opinion so probable to most in speculation, as opportunitie would easily draw all to the practice. The *grand Censurer, while he denies; *Deceased auncestors to be any whit affected with the weale, or misery of posteritie*, implies this to haue beene a received opinion before his time, for such, for the most part, he either refutes, or refines. This *principle* being once settled in mens mindes; strong impulsions either of hope or feare, would extort such prayers and supplications to friends, or auncestors departed, as vpon like occasions should haue beene tendered to them living. And the supplicants, not knowing any *set meanes* of procuring audience before patrons now absent and out of sight, would try all they had knowne in like cases practised by others, or could invent themselues. Sacrifices amongst other meanes, were as the common lure to wooe ghosts or spirits vnto familiar conference, or (at least) to take notice of suits exhibited, and to manifest their answers by the effect. Thus *A-

* Aristot. 1.
Erbicorum.

* Vigesimo
postquam do-
mum discesserat
die, Sexto per-
uenit. Inde in
Eleunt a pro-
fectus, Prote-
silao super ip-
sius tumulum
sacrificat:
quod Prote-
silao creditur
Græcorum,
qui cum Ag-
amemnone ad

Ilion miserunt, prius in Asiam uenerunt ulisse. Sac. scilicet verò scopus hic erat, ut felicius
ipsi quam Protegilao descensus in Asiam esset. Arrianus de exped. Alex lib. 1. pag. 12.

alexander.

Alexander, though a Prince of *Aristotles* instructing, being now bound for *Asia*, offered sacrifice to *Protesilaus* vpon his Tombe, with supplication for better successe, then he, to whom he offered sacrifice had there found; being slaine in the *Troian* warre. Did the great Monarch (as we may conjecture) thinke that the soule of this *Grecian* *Worthy*, not pacified with such offerings, would envy better successe vnto his successors of *Greece*? or did he rather hope, that *Protesilaus*, by resolute adventure, and vntimely death, had merited a warrant from the gods to grant safe conduct vnto *Grecian* Nobles, that vpon just quarrells invaded *Asia*? For the reason, why *Alexander* should sacrifice to him before any other, was in that he of all the *Grecian* Captaines, had set first foote in *Asia*; as if by death he had taken possession of Protectorship over his Country-men in like expeditions. But whatsoever motiue *Alexander* had to this Idolatrie, from that generall improument of mens esteeme of others worth, and vertue absent, in respect of them present, many nations were prone to adore them as gods after death, whom they honoured and revered aboue others, yet with humane honour onely, whiles they liued. From this obseruance amongst the *Grecians*, * *Callisthenes* ingenuously and wittily refutes *Anaxarchus*, perswading the *Macedonians* to giue diuine honour to *Alexander*, ready enough to receiue it before his death. Whatsoever the *Barbarians* may practise (saith this *Grecian* Philosopher) *Greece* (I know) hath no such custome, nor did our Auncestors worship *Hercules* as a god, so long as he conversed among them in humane shape, nor after his death vntill the *Delphicke Oracle* had so appointed.

* *Arrian*. l. 4
pag. 85.

A-

Sectio. 3.

* Vide Plu-
tarchum.

Anaxarchus on the contrary, thought it a great *Indecorum*, not to giue that honor to the Emperour whiles he liued, which he doubted not, would by publique consent be deligned vnto him after death. The like Parasiticall humor of the *Thasians*, a people of *Greece*, had trauailed before of like Idolatrie, but brought forth onely a memorable jest in that wise King * *Agelilaus*, vnto whom such proffered service smelled too rankly of base flattery. My misters (quoth he) hath your Cittie the authoritie, or art of making gods? If it haue I pray let vs see what manner of gods you can make your selues; and then perhappes I shall be content to be a god of your making.

* Then King Herod heard of him (for his name was spread abroad) and said; *John Baptist* is risen againe from the dead, and therefore great workes are wrought by him. *Mark* 6. vers. 14. *Vide Matth.* 14. vers. 1, 2.

2. The Platonickall opinion of the soules enlargement in her principall faculties after delivery from this walking prison, which she carries about with her, did secretly water and cherish the former seeds of error. For consequently vnto this doctrine, men might thinke, that they who by their wit (especially) had done much good whiles they liued in the bodie, would be able to doe much more after their dissolution. So * *Herod* thought *John Baptist* had brought more skill out of that world, wherevnto he had sent his soule before the naturall time of her departure, then in his first life he had beene capable of; for *John* in his life time wrought no miracles. Not onely the commonly conceived dignitie of the soule separated from the body, but the time or manner of its separation, did much instigate mindes, otherwise that way bent, to grosse superstition and Idolatrie. The *Magicians*

.that

Cap. 21.

that liued at *Athens* when ^a *Plato* died, offered sacrifice to his soule, supposing him to haue beene more than man, because he died on his birth-day, having fulfilled the most perfect number in his course of life, whose length was iust fourescore yeares and one. But to this particular superstition, the causes mentioned in the eighteenth Chapter, had their ioynt concurrence. *Quirinus* and ^b *Romulus* (whether two or one) were in *Tullies* judgement rightly reputed Gods after death, because good men whilst they liued, and (as it seemes he thought) no way disenabled for doing good still, in as much as they enioyed eternitie in their soules. And ^c *Trismegist* catechizing his sonne in the Egyptian Art of making gods, tells him his grand-father, (who was the first inventor of Physicke) being gone to heaven in soule, or (to vse his phrase) according to his *better man*, did still worke all those cures by his secret power, which before he wrought by art; the onely place where this diuine soule would be spoken with, was the *Temple*, wherein his *mundane man*, or *body* lay entombed; wherein likewise he had an Idoll

^a Plato ipse ad senectutem se diligentia per tulit. Erat quidem corpus validū ac forte sortitus, et illi nomen latitudo pectoris fecerat: sed navigationes ac pericula multum detraxerunt viribus: parsimonia tamē et eorum quae audivit e-uocans modus et diligens suututela, perduxit illū ad senectutem, multis prohibentibus causis. Nam hoc scis, putoplatoni diligen-

tia sua beneficio cōtigisse, quod natali suo decebit, & annum vnum atq; octogesimum impleuit, sine ulla deductione. Ideo Magi, qui forte Athenis erant, immolauerunt defuncto, amplioris fuisse sortis quam humana rati, quia consummasset perfectissimū numerum, quem nouem nouies multiplicata componunt Seneca Epistola. 58. ^b Hinc etiam Romulus, quem quidam eundem esse Quirinum putant: quorum remaneret animi, atq; aternitate fruerentur dyrite sunt haberi cum et optimi essent et aterni. Cicero lib. 2. de natura Deorum. ^c Auus enim tuus, o Asclepi, medicina primus inuentor, cui templum consecratum est in monte Libya circa Litus Crocodilorum, in quo eius iacet mundanus homo, id est, corpus: reliquus enim, vel potius totus, si est homo totus in sensu vita, melior remeavit in cœlū, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adiumenta praestans infirmis numine nunc suo, quae antē secebat medicina arte praeberere. Ecce dixit mortuum colit pro Deo in eo loco ubi habebat sepulchrū: falsus ac fallens dicendo quod remeavit in cœlū, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adiumenta praestans infirmis. Aug. de Civit. Dei ad Marcellinum. l. 7. c. 26 Terrenis enim dīs atq; mundanis facile est irasci: ut pote qui sunt ab hominibus ex utraq; natura facti atq; compositi. Ex utraq; natura dicit, ex animi et corpore: ut pro anima sit daemon, pro corpore simulachrum. Unde contigit, inquit, ab Aegyptiis haec sancta animalia nuncupari, coliq; per singulas civitates eorum animas, qui eas consecraverunt viventes, ita ut eorum legibus incoluntur, et eorum nominibus nuncupentur. Augustinus ibidem.

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* In his Co-
mentaries
vpon the
forecited
place of S.
Augustine.
Littera. q.

or Image, as every other Egyptian Temple had, vnto which by Exorcismes or Invocation, they wedded either spirits or soules of men, after they had relinquished their owne bodies. By this art were most Egyptian gods procreated, vntill error by Gods iust iudgement did reciprocate; and idolatry ascend from beasts to men, from whom it first descended. For in proceſſe of time, the *hurtfull* or *profitable* beasts, which Princes had cōsecrated, were adored as *Trismegists* father had beene, and the Princes likewise, which had consecrated them, were coadored in their images. The manner of this last errors intrusion, as * *Vives* hath well observed out of *Diodorus*, descended (in part at least) from the devises or emblemes, which Princes bare in their *Shields* or *Crests*. Some best liking *dogs*, others, *Lyons*, *Wolues*, or *Cats*; every one as sympathie of nature, fancie, or chance misled them. The solemnitie vsed at their consecration (that is whilest they were taken for armes) being great, did taint the spectators mindes with superstitious fancies. And vnto minds thus tainted, their livelesse pictures, being borne as crests or ensignes, were reputed for no bystanders, but for authors or coadjutors, whether of victorious successe in wars, or of prosperous events in peace. The Princes afterwards fell in loue with the *names* of the beasts, & propagated the incestuous *title* vnto Cities. This speedie transportation of affectionate mindes from curious ceremony or solemnitie vnto grosse and formall Idolatry, the eternall Lawgiver did best know to be too naturall vnto man; and therefore sought to prevent the disease by euacuating the antecedent cause. To this purpose are those prohibitions of curious ceremony

mony in mourning for friends deceased. *Iee shall not cut your flesh for the dead, nor make any print or marke upon you; I am the Lord**. This remembrance [*I am the Lord*] intimates vnto vs, that these prints or markes were the badges of another Master, who by thole curious expressions of mournfull sorrow for their dead, sought to bring them vnto a never dying sorrow of body and soule. The same prohibition is more particularly directed to the house of *Aaron*, with speciall restraint from vsing such ceremonies, as in other families of *Israel* were not vnlawfull, vnlesse for parents, brother or sister before marriage deceased, no sonne of *Aaron* might mourne. For want of such lawes to moderate and bridle this naturall affection of lamenting the dead, both Priest and people among the heathens ranne headlong into this Idolatrie of invoking men deceased. For (as the wise-man obserues) *when a father mourned grieuously for his sonne, that was taken away suddainely, he made an Image for him that was once dead.* This at the first was but to solace grieve by an imaginary or representatiue presence of him, that was truly absent.* But that tender respect which parents beare vnto their sicke children (for whose releife or ease no cost can seeme too great, no attendance, so it please, too curious) doth naturally enlarge it selfe after their death; and having a picture, whereon to gaze, will hardly restraîne to present it, in more ceremonious and solemne sort, with all those respects and services, which were due to the partie living, or like to die. So the same wise man couples solemne Idolatrie, as the immediate effect, to such curiositie or ceremony. *Now he worshippeth him as a God, and ordained to his ser-*

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* Levit. 19.
28.

* Cum Martini freti
accola ad se-
stos ludorum
dies, quos
Rhegini so-
lemni ritu a-
gitabant, pu-
eros triginta
quinque, cum
his Chori
magistrum,
et tibi cinem
misissent, na-
ue fracta ad
vnum omnes
periere. dia-

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meritini istū
puerorum in-
teritum lux-
ere, & cum
alios illis ho-
nōres habue-
re, non statu-
am ex are su-
am singulis
posuere, cūq;
is vna chori
in gistro, &

tibicini. Vetus inscriptio donum esse Mamertinorum indicat fœti accolarum. Interiecto de in tem-
pore, Hippias, qui inter Græcos sapientia laude claruit, elegit titulos earum statuarum fecit.
Pausan. lib. 5. pag. 327. If not the fathers, certainly the mothers of these children would
solace themselves with such ejaculations, whilst they beheld their statues, as Androma-
che did. O mea solamhi super Asryanactis Imago; sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat, &
nunc aequali tecum pubesceret auro. Virgil. Æneid. 3. Marc. Tullius, qui non tantum perfectus
Orator, sed etiam Philosophus fuit (siquidem solus extitit Platonis imitator) in eo libro, quo se
ipse de morte filia consolatur est, non dubitauit dicere Deos, qui publicè colerentur, homines fuisse.
Quod ipsius testimonium, eo debet grauissimum iudicari, quod et augurale habet sacerdotium,
et eosdem se colere venerariq; testatur. Itaq; intra paucos versiculos duas res nobis dedit.
Nam dum Imaginem filia eodem se modo consecraturum esse profiteretur, quo illi à veteribus
sunt consecrati: et illos mortuos esse docuit, et originem vana superstitionis ostendit. Cum vero
(inquit) et mares et feminas complures ex hominibus in deorum numero esse videamus, et eorum
in urbibus atq; agris augustissima delubra veneremur; assentiamur eorum sapientia quorum in-
genijs et inuentis omnem vitam legibus et institutis excultam, constitutamq; habemus. Quod
si ullum vnquam animal consecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphionis pro-
genies, aut Tyndari in cælum tollenda fama fuit; huic idem honos certè dicendus est, quod qui-
dem faciam, req; omnium optimam, doctissimamq; approbantibus Dijs immortalibus ipsis in eorū
cætu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium consecrabo. Fortasse dicat aliquis præ nimio luctu
delirasse Ciceronem. Atqui omnis illa oratio, et doctrina, et exemplis, et ipso loquendi genere per-
fecta, non agri sed constantis animi ac iudicij fuit, et hac ipsa sententia nullum præfert indicium
doloris. Neq; enim pato illum tam variè, tam copiosè, tam ornate scribere potuisse, nisi luctum
eius, et ratio ipsa, et consolatio amicorum, et temporis longitudo mitigasset. Lactantius, lib. 1.
cap. 15. pag. 49.

3. Impotent desires of still enioying their companies
to whom wee haue fastned our dearest affections, will
hardly take a deniall by death. But as some longing to
be deliverd of a well conceited argument, haue set

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vp their cappes for Respondents, and disputed with them as with *line Antagonists*: so we goe on still (as in a waking dreame) to frame a *capacitie in the dead of accepting our respect and loue in greater measure, then without envie of others, or offence to them, it could haue beene tendered, whilst they were living. Did not the spirit of God awake vs, the Idolatrie issuing from this spring, would steale vpon vs like a deluge in a slumber. Many, who by their preeminencie amongst men, haue affected to be reputed gods, haue of other mens Lords become such slaues to their own affectiō, as to worship their dead favorites with diuine honour. So *Alexander* having testified his loue to *Hephestions* corps, with such curious signes and ceremonies of mourning, as *God* in his Law had forbidden, seekes afterward to solace his griefe by procuring *Mortmaine* from the Oracle for his dead friend to hold greater honours, then this great Conqueror of the world could haue bestowed vpon him; though he had liued to haue beene his heire. To qualifie him by dispensation from *Iupiter Ammon* for an heroicke, or halfe-god, and thereby to make him capable of sacrifice, could not suffice without a Temple, whose curiositie and state would (as the wise-man obserues) thrust forward the multitude to increase their superstition. The more beautifull the Temples were, the better god would be sceme to the multitude, easily allured, through the beautie of the worke, to take him now for a god, who a little before was honoured but as man*. And good encouragement *Cleomenes* the Deputie, or over-seer of these edifices, had to see them most accurately finished, ^a having a pardon for all his faults, dis-

* Vide *Lactantium* l. 1. de falsa religione. c. 15.

Arrianus de expedit. *Alexan.* lib. 7. pag. 165. Vide *Diodoru* lib. 17.

* *Wisd.* 14. 17, 19.

^a *Arrianus* loco citato.

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Hic Antinus quum in delicijs eius fuisset, in Aegypto mortuus est, sine quod in Nilum ceciderit, ut Hadrianus scribit; sine quod immolatus, id quod verum est, fuerit. Nam quum Hadrianus maxime curiosus esset, ut praedixi, tum vero divinationibus utebatur, et magicis artibus cuiusvis

generis Itaq; Antinum, qui vel ob amorem ipsius, vel ob aliam causam voluntariam mortem obierat (nam Hadriano ad ea, quae parabat, spūs erat anima voluntaria) tanto honore affectus; ut urbem in eo loco, in quo ille obisset, restitutam ex eo nominari voluerit; statuasq; ei, vel potius simulachra in omni ferè orbe terrarum coll. cauerit. Sidus etiam Antinoi ipse se videre dicebat, libenterq; auscultabat eos qui dicerent vere ex Antinoi animo stellam quae tum primum adparuisset, extitisse. Diodor. in hist. Rom. lib. 69. Hadrianus 15. pag. 797. ^b Of this Emperours folly in this kinde see Spartian. in Adrian. canibus sepulchra statuit.

loyall practises, or publicke wrongs done by him to the Egyptian Nation, vpon condition there were no fault in the Temples erected for *Hephestions* honour. If all did follow the patterne, which *Clecmenes* in the first sacrifice would set them, few of the auncient gods were like to goe before this new halfe god, or herotcke. The issue of *Adrians* immoderate loue vnto his minion ^a *Antinous* whiles he liued, was, after his death, superstitious fopperie altogether as grosse vnlesse perhaps it were tempered (as some thinke) with Necromanticall impietie. An Oracle was erected to speake for him, who could not now speake for himselfe, albeit Oracles I take it, at this time were dumbe, but so much the fitter for a dead dog: as the name of God speld backward, would best besit him and others of his profession; his sepulcher was according to the Egyptian fashion; he had a whole Citie called by his name. And to establish an opinion of the ^b Emperours authoritie to create gods, a new starre was either seene or fained, as if the heavens by this apparition had ratified this earthly Monarchs graunt; or charter. Perhaps some Comet might at the same time, be presented by the Prince of the aire to delude the inhabitants of the earth.

4. But leaving these grosse fooleries; That generall fallacie, which opened the first gappe to heathenish Idola-

Idolatrie, had a peculiar efficacy in men, honourably addicted to their deceased worthies. From conversion of the common notion, *that divine nature was beneficiall and good*, every great benefactor was by the rude and ignorant adored as god. Now the warlike and valourous, were by every Nation held best deservers of the weale publicke; and fortitude, though (as the Philosopher excepts against it) not the most laudable vertue in it selfe, was most honoured among the people, because most profitable to them. Hence the valourous, in lieu of their readinesse to sacrifice their bodies for their native Country, had ^a sacrifices and other acknowledgements of honour divine, publicly assigned to them after death. The most curious and superstitious solemnitie in this kinde, that comes to my present remembrance, was that Festivitie ^b annually celebrated every September by the Citizens of *Platea*, in honourable memorie of those Worthies, which there had laid downe their lives for the libertie of *Greece* ^c. Amongst other conditions, vpon which the Oracle promised the *Grecians* victory over the *Persians* in that famous battell, a principall one was, offering of sacrifice to the auncient Heroicks of *Greece*; one of whom, by name *Andreocrates*, had his Temple (neare to that place) environed with a thicke and shadie groue; a fit nest for hatching that superstition, which had beene conceived from other circumstances *. As they had vanquished the *Persians* in fight: so they

^a Elei Heroibus etiam, et eorum uxori- bus libam, cum ijs qui passim in Elea terra, et illis qui apud Arolas in honore sunt. Pausan.

l. 5. p. 317. ^b Vide Plutarchum in Aristide.

^c The like vanitie of Grecians & other people is recorded by Strabo. lib. 5. by Lucius Florus. lib. 4.

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medi equum candidum venetos, ut Numini, mactasse accepimus, et id honorificum duxisse: cum Mysi, qui cum Marco Crasso conflixere statim ante aciem immolatio quo concipere votum (aut quam Barbarum, ut casorum dux mextis litare. Forcatulus lib. 1. * Plutarch. ibidem.

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* Zenophon.

scorned to be overcome by them in lavish ceremony towards their well deserving *dead*. The pompe and magnificence of this festivitie, continued from *Aristides* to *Plutarchs* time, did much exceed the sooner decayed solemnities decreed to **Cyrus* by the *Persians*: the gardians of whose sepulcher notwithstanding had every day a sheepe, every moneth an horse allowed them to sacrifice vnto the soule of this chiefe founder of their great Monarchie; the patterne of valour and royall government.

* *Achilli non ara, sed inane monumentum est ex oraculo dedicatum.*

Ad illud Elea matrona, prunis ludorū initis, die stavo, inclinante iam in vesperū sole, inter ceteros, quos Achilli habent, honores, solenni ritu pectus plangunt.

Pausan l. 6.

pag. 389.

b. Vide Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 24.

5. Thus this superstitious adoration of the dead, at the first * extorted from the fullnesse of respectiue affection, wanting right vent, did afterwards mightily overspread the world by imitation. In the later and more dissolute times of the *Romane* Empire, it was annexed by flattery as an essentiall part of civill ceremony or solemnitie due to greatnesse without any respect of goodnesse. And whereas the olde worlds custome had beene onely to deifie the inventors of usefull trades, or authors of publicke good; later Epicures, or worthlesse favourites did adore beastly Tyrants as great Gods, because they fed them with some offalls of publicke spoiles, or authorized them to sucke the bloud of the needie. ^b *Tullie* vrgeth it as an argument of *Romulus* prayse, that he should merit the reputation of a god, in that civill and discrete age wherein he died: for so he accounts it in respect of former times, wherein risenesse of error and ignorance mingled with rude affection, had brought downe the price of the gods, by too great plentie. But from *Romulus* (the fabulous occasion of whose consecration was an illustrious type of moderne Romish forgerie for

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for canonizing Saints) vntill the *Emperours*, the *Romans* I take it consecrated no King or Governour as gods, though great benefactors to their states. They onely adored such gods, as tradition had comended vnto them, committing Idolatrie, (to vse *S. Austines* wordes) *Errando potius, quam adulando; through error rather than out of flatterie.* And as the same father obserues, the vse of images, vnkowne vnto their ancestors, did much increase this impious superstition in posteritie, and (according to the wilemans observation) concurred as a concause, or coadiutor to base flattery. The same observation is wittily exprest by *Minutius Felix*; * *As for those that were so farre of, that men might not worship them presently, they did counterfeite the visage that was farre of, and made a gorgious image of a King, whom they would honour, that they might by all meanes flatter him that was absent, as though he had beene present.* And partly by this devise, and partly by that other of deceitfull Oracles, many fabulous crimes, which more ciuill and sober times had never charged their gods with, were by posteritie (thus polluted) set forth in solemne shewes or playes, in honour of these counterfeite or painted powers. Not the Poet onely, but the picture-maker also did helpe to set forward the superstition. The relations and representations of their gods vicious hues, might well embolden the most dissolute amongst the race of *Cesars* to looke for such diuine honour after death, as flattery had proffered to them liuing. Much worse they could not be than their^b forefathers, or Poets did make their gods:

Vide Aug.
lib. 4. de ci-
uitate Dei,
cap. 31.

Vide Virena
in Comment.

* Similiter
verò erga
Deos quoque
maiores no-
stri improbi-
di, creduli,
rudi simpli-
citate credi-
derunt: dum
Reges suos
colunt reli-
giose, dum
defunctos eos
desiderant in
Imaginibus
videre: dum
gestiunt eo-
rum memo-
rias in statu-
is detinere:
sacra facta
sunt, quæ
suerant as-
sumpta sola-
tia. Minuti-
us Felix.

pag. 375.

^a Wiscl. 14

vers. 16.

^b Silius

Marcus Tul-

lius qui Caio Ferri adulterium obiecit: eadem enim Iupiter, quem colebat, admisit: qui Publio Claudio incestum Sororis: at illi optimo Maxi: eadem fuit et Soror et coniux. Laetant. 1. c. 10
Vide Aug. lib. 2. de ciuit. Dei. cap. 9. et 10. Forest. lib. 4. pag. 538.

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nor did they perhappes conceit any fitter cloake to cover their shame, than the publicke and solempne representation of their lewdnesse, who had already purchased the fame and reputation of celestiaall inhabitants. And hath not the tacite consent of our times almost established it as a Law; That greatnesse may giue authoritie vnto villany, and exempt filthinesse from *censure* of impietic? What hath beene committed by any whilest private men, ceaseth (in their owne opinion) to be theirs, by their becomming publicke Magistrates. For then they thinke not themselues to be the same men they were, and what is another mans sinnes to them? This is a roote of Idolatrie, which did not determine with the destruction of heathenish groues or Idolls, nor with the dissolution of Romish Abbies; the very dregs of their impietic are yet incorporated in mens hearts, of whatsoever Religion they be, that seeke to be great before they be good. But of this and of other branches of *transcendent* Idolatrie, that is, of Idolatrie alike frequent and dangerous, throughout all ages, all Nations, amongst the professors of all *Religions*, elswhere, by *Gods* assistance.

The next Inquirie is; Whether the Idolatrie of
Rome - Christian (by profession) be fully
 æquivalent to the Idolatrie of
Rome - Heathen.

(::)

SECTION



SECTION IIII.

Of the Identitie or equivalencie of superstition in Rome-Heathen and Rome-Christian.

CHAPTER XXII.

That Rome-Christian in latter yeares sought rather to allay than to abrogate the Idolatrie of Rome-Heathen: that this allay was the most commodious policie, which Satan could devise for venting his detected poysons, utterly condemned by primitive Professors of Christianitie.

I.



AND either the Romish Church no Orators at all, or heathen Temples as many, as skilfull and subtile, as it hath, to plead the lawfulnessse of their service; such as devoutly serue God in spirit and truth, would in the one case make no question, in the other admit no dispute, whether were worse. The formes of their Liturgies represented to vnpartiall eyes without varnish or painting, would appeare so like; that if the one were adjudged nought, the other could not be approved as good; or both equally set forth by art, if the one seemed

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med good and currant, the other could not justly be suspected for naught or counterfeit. That the *Romanists* generally make better profession of the vnitie, the nature, and attributes of the true and onely God, than most Heathens did, argueth not their daily and solemne service of him to be better, but rather referres the issue of the controversie betweene them, to the determination of another like case, [*Whether the settled and habituall carriage of a drunkard be worse in him that is daily drunk indeed, & hath his senses continually stupified, or in one that hath wit at will to conceive and speake well in matters speculative or remote from use, but wants will or grace to temper his carnall affections with sobrietie of spirit, or season his conversation with civilitie*]. Were ratsbane as simply and grossely ministred to men, as it is to rats, few would take harme by it. And of Popes and Cardinalls, more have vsed the helpe of ratsbane than of ratcatchers to poyson their enemies. It were a brutish simplicitie to thinke the devill could not, & a preposterous charity to thinke he would not, minister his receipts in a cunninger fashion, since the promulgation of the Gospell, than he did before; although the poyson be still the same. To cate figgs, or other more cordiall foode, with the infusion of Iubril and deadly poyson, exempts not mens bodies from danger. Much lesse can speculative orthodoxall opinions of the God-head free mens soules from the poyson of Idolatrous practises, wherewith they are mingled.

2. Taking it then as graunted, (what without paradox we may maintaine) that the devill had as great a longing since Christ triumphed over him, as he had before, to worke the bane of mens soules throughout

Europe:

Europe: He had beene the arrantest foole, that ever either vndertooke to contriue a dangerous and cunning plott, or adventured to act any notorious mischief or difficult villanie, if he had solicited men to grosse Heathenisme, or open profession of allegiance to those gods, in whose service they had knowne their fathers perish, the sodaine downfall of whose Idolls they had seene miraculously accomplished. To have perswaded them hereto, had beene a more palpable importunitie, then if a man in kindnesse should profer a cup, wherein he had squeezed the poyson of Spiders, to one which had seene his mate fall downe dead by taking the same potion. Now admitting a resolution in the great professor of destructive Arts, so to refine or sublimate his wonted poysons, as they might the more secretly mingle with the foode of life: where can we suspect this policie to have beene practised, if not in the Romish Church; whose idolatrous rites and service of Satan in former ages haue beene so grosse, that if we had seene the temptatiō, vnacquainted with the success, we should certainly haue thought the great Tempter had mightily forgotten himselfe, or lost his wonted skill in going so palpably about his businesse? Nor could any policie haue so prevailed against Gods Church, vnlesse it had first beene surprised with a lethargie, or brought into a relapse of Heathenish ignorance. To entise men vnto Heathenisme since Romish rites and customes haue beene authorized or justified in solenne disputes; he had lesse reason than to haue tempted the olde world vnto Atheisme, whiles there was no delight or pleasure, which the flesh can long for, but had some feigned
god

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god for it's patrone. And what branch of implanted superstition can we imagine in any sonne of *Adam*, which may not sufficiently feed it selfe with some part or other of the Romish Liturgie, or with some customs, by that Church allowed, concerning the *invocation of Saints*, the *adoration of reliques*, or *worship of images*. By entertaining either more orthodoxall conceits of the God-head, than the Heathens had, or better perswasions of one Mediatour betweene God and man than the morderne *Iewes* or *Mahumetans* do, they giue contentment to many carnall desires, especially covetousnesse, preposterous pride, and hypocrisie, which would be readie to mutinier, if simple Idolatrie should be restored to it's wonted soveraigntie.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the generall infirmities of flesh and bloud, which did dispose divers auncient professors of Christianitie to take the infection of Superstition. Of the particular humors which did sharpen the appetite of the moderne Romish Church to hunger and thirst after the poysonous dregs of Rome-Heathens Idolatrie.

I.



IN Churches of *Pauls* planting and *Apollo* his watering, the seedes of sound and wholesome doctrine tooke roote with greater facilitie, than sundry heathenish rites whereto they had beene so long accustomed, could be extirpated. That caveat [*But I would*

would not have you to be ignorant brethren, concerning them that sleepe, &c.] given to the *Thessalonians*,* (otherwise most chearefull imbracers and zealous professors of the Gospel) argueth some reliques of such superstitious demeanor towards the dead, as they had practised, whiles they liued without hope of a resurrection to a better life; vnto which practises (perhaps) they were so much more prone than others, as they were naturally more kinde and loving. Now if the first receipts of life ministred by a Physitian so wise and well experienced as *S. Paul*, did not forthwith purifie this good natured peoples affections from the corrupt humors of Gentilisme; it was no wonder, if other lesse skilfull doctors, by seeking the speedy cure of this disease, did cast more vntoward patients then these *Thessalonians* were, into a relapse of a contrary, more hereditary and naturall to most Heathen. Whether for preventing vnseemly and immoderate mourning for the dead, or for encouraging the living to constancy in persecution; the solemne celebration of their Funeralls, and publique blazoning of their blisfull and glorious state after death, which had liued Saints and died Martyrs, was a method very effectuall and compendious. Howbeit in hearts not thoroughly purified and settled by grace, these panegyricall *encomiastmes* did reuiue the seeds of superstitious respect to famous men deceased, as fast as they quelled the reliques of hopelesse feare, or abated naturall inclinations vnto immoderate mourning. And happily that point of truth, wherewith the Romanist seekes to condite or sweeten the poylonous fruit of his idolatrous and superstitious speculations, might in part occasion
or

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* 1 Thes.
cap. 4. ver.
13.

Seccio.4. or embolden the auncients to scatter some seedes of them, before they had experience vnto what degree of malignācy they might grow, when they grew ripe. When the first Reformers of Religion demanded a difference betweene Heathenish adoration of inferior gods, and Popish worshipping of Saints; the vsuall and almost onely answer was, that the Heathens adored naughtie and wicked men, either altogether vnworthie of any, or worthy of disgracefull memory after death; whereas the Church did worship such as deserved as much respect as men are capable of; *men*, to whom who so omitted performance of sacred respect or religious worship, did thereby commit most grievous sacrilege.

2. To outstrip our adversaries in their owne policies, or to vse means abused by others to a better end, is a resolution so plausible to worldly wisdom (which of all other fruits of the flesh, is for the most part the hardiest and last renounced) that almost no sect or profession in any age but in the issue mightily over-reached or intangled themselves by too much seeking to circumvent or goe beyond others. The knowne successe of worldly policie in nursing Martiall valour, and resolute contempt of life, by decreeing divine honor to their heroicks after death, did quickly fet over the Christian world, being almost out-wearied with continuall opposition of Gentilisme, to foster and cherish spirituall courage, by the like meanes. The practise whereof notwithstanding (as doe all like attempts by common course of nature) did continually, though insensibly grow more dangerous in the processe. This originall of superstitious performances
towards

towards the dead hath beene set downe* before, and is particularly prosecuted by *Chemnitius*, to whose labours I referre the Reader.

3. Againe the sweete comfort which some auncients of blessed memory, tooke in the consort of mutuall prayers whiles they lived together, made them desirous that the like offices might be continued after their decease. Hence some in their life times (if my memory fayle me not) did thus contract, that such of them as were first called into the presence of God, should sollicite the others deliverance from the world and flesh, and prosecute those suits by personall appearance in the Court of heaven, which they had joyntly given vp in prayers and secret wishes of heart, whiles they were absent each from other here on earth. To be perswaded, that such as had knowne our minds, and beene acquainted with our houres of devotion, whiles wee had civill commerce together, might out of this memory after their dissolution, take notice of our supplications, & sollicite our cause with greater fervency than we can, is not so grosse in the speculative assertion, as daungerous in the practicall consequent. But if magicall feats can put on colourable pretences, and *Magitians make faire shewes vnto the simple of imitating Gods Saints in their actions; what marvaile, if *Romish* Idolatrie having in latter yeares found more learned patrones than any vnlawfull profession ever did, doe plead its warrant from speculations very plausible to flesh and blood, or from the example of some auncients; the preiudiciall opinions of whose venerable authoritie and deserved esteeme in other points, may, with many, prevent

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* Chap 20,

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^a Chemnit. in

Exam. Con-

cil. Trident.

session 9. &

vlr. de livo.

Sanct.

* See Chap.

19.

Sectio. 4

* Vide Vin-
cent Lirin.
Magistri
laudentur,
Discipuli
damnantur.
* Carolus Ti-
ercellinus
Rupinianus
antiqui mor-
ris eques.
mordaci dic-
terio indig-
nabundus sa-
pius dixit,
torquē Con-
chylatum,
postquam in-
dignis pro-
miseri com-
municari ce-
pisset, non in
effortum
virorum in-
signe sed om-
nium Bestia-
rum collare.
Thuan. l. 2. 2.
* Hinc cōfiliis
prophetia ū,
hinc miracu-
lorum admo-
nitio, hinc e-
tiam adora-
tio dūm tro-
rum hominū
in popularis.
Testis est mi-
hi Legenda:

inmo de adoratione canis mortui visum est in Vienna. Gerson tractat. 8. partitio. 3. de custodia
Angelorum. * Bellarmus de S. beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 19.

vent the examinatio of any reasons which latter ages
can bring to impeach their imperfections in this.
Yet experiments in other cases approved by all, ma-
nifest the indefinite truth of this observation, * That
such practises, as can no way blemish the otherwise
deserved fame of their first practitioners, usually bring
forth reproach and shame to their vnseasonable or ill
qualified Imitators. Now the pardonable oversight,
or doubtfull speculations of some Auncients, haue
beene two waies much malignified by later *Romanists*:
first by incorporating the superfluous of their Rhetor-
ical inventions or ejaculations of swelling affections
in panegyricall passages, into the bodie of their di-
vine service: secondly by making such faire garlands
as Antiquitie had woven for holy Saints & true Mar-
tyrs, Collars (as a * French Knight, in a case not much
vnlike said) for every beast; or chaines for every ^a dead
dogs necke, which had brought gaine vnto their Sanc-
tuary. Touching the former abuse [the incorpora-
ting of rhetorical expressions of the Auncients affec-
tion towards deceased Worthies, into the bodie of
their divine service] ^b Bellarmine is not ashamed to A-
pologize for the solempne forme of their publicke au-
thorized Liturgie, by the passionate ejaculation of
Nazianzen his poeticall wit in his panegyricall Ora-
tion for S. Cyprian, and for his kinde acquaintance
whiles he lived with Basil the great. It is enough, as
this Apologizing Oratour thinkes, to acquit their
service from superstition, and themselves from irreligi-
on, that this Father, who spake as they doe, was one

of the wisest Bishops Antiquitie could boast of. As in granting him to be as wise as any other, we should perhaps wrong but a few, or none of the auncient Bishops or learned Fathers; so we should much wrong *Nazianzen* himselfe, if we tooke these passages, on which *Bellarmino* groundeth his Apologie, for any speciall arguments of his wisdom and gravitie. Howbeit *Nazianzen* might (without prejudice to his deserved esteeme for wisdom & gravitie) say much, and for the manner not vnfitly of *Cyprian* and *Basil*, which was no way fitting for latter Romane Bishops to say of their deceased Popes, or for the Popes whilst they liued to speake of their deceased Bishops. But such a sway hath corrupt custome got over the whole Christian world, that looke what honor hath beene voluntarily done to men in office, as due vnto their personall worth, their successors will take deniall of the like or greater, as a disparagement to their places; albeit their personall vnworthinesse be able to disgrace the places wherein they haue liued, and all the dignities that can be heaped vpon them. Vpon this carnall humor did the mystery of iniquitie begin first to worke. The choicest respect or reverence which had beene manifested towards the best of Gods Saints or Martyrs, either privately out of the vsuall solecismes of affectionate acquaintance (alwayes readie to entertaine men lately deceased with such louing remembrances as they had tendred them in presence) or in publicke and anniversary solemnities for others encouragement vnto constancy in the faith; were afterwards taken vp as a ciuill complement of their Funerall rites, or inioyned as a perpetuall honor to their

Q

birthdays,

Sectio. 4.

^a The true reason why the order of the *Carthusians* have had so few Saints : whereas the order of *St Bennet* (as may appear by a begging Brieft sent some few yeares agoe out of *Spaine* here into *Englad* by the Provinciall or Generall of that order) doth brag of fiftie thousand Saints, all *Bennets* Disciples: the number is more by ten thousand, than wee read

sealed of any Tribe of *Israel*. ^b *Hac sub brevitate contra eos qui impugnant ordinem Carthusiensium, quia non fiant in eis miracula, immo nec velient, potius vero facientes occultiarent, pcut sapius repertum est. Quod autem similiter dicitur, quod ne habeant canonizatum, nisi unum scilicet S. Hugonem, Linconensem Episcopum; Respondeo quod nec idem ex eorum voluntate, sed regis Anglia & suorum in laudibus est canonizatus, quanquam sanctissima fuit vita, magnis miraculis claruerit & procurator Carthusia magna professusq; existerit. Gerson de abstinentia Carthusianorum, siue contra impugnantes ordinem Carthusiensium. Pag. 514.*

^c See Chap. 21. parag. 3.

birthdayes, whom the Pope either of his owne free motion, or at the request of secular Princes, or some favorites, would have graced with famous memory. ^a *Rome-Christian* hath beene in this kinde more lavish than *Rome-Heathen*. And as in great Cities it is a disparagement to any Corporation or Company to have had few or no Majors or chiefe Magistrates of their Trade: so in proceesse of time it became matter of imputation vnto some religious orders, that they had not so many Canonized Saints as their opposits (lesse obliervant of their Founders lesse strict rules) could bragge of. For want of such starres to adorne their sphere, the order of the ^b *Carthusians*, otherwise famous for austeritie of life, was suspected not to be celestiall. The fault notwithstanding was not in the *Carthusians*, or their Religion, vnlesse a fault it were not to seeke this honor at the Popes hands, who did grant it against their wills to one of their order and our Country-man, at the King of *Englands* suite. And lest any part of Heathenish Superstition, that had beene practised in the Romane Monarchie, might be left vnparalleled by like practises of the Romish Hierarchie; as the Deification of ^c *Antinoius* was countenanced with feigned relations of a new starres appearance and other like Ethnicismes vsually graced by Oracles: so

were

were * Revelations pretended in the Papacy to credit their sanctifications, which stood in neede of some divine testimony to acquit their sanctitie from suspicion.

Cap. 23.

* Qua hora B. Virgo (Catharina) animā reddidit, Thomas Pen-

na Protonotarius Apostolicus vidit celos apertos, eamq; sublimē ascendentem inter choros angelorum. Eandem pia vidua Semia triptici corona insignitam, vidit a Christo sponso in throno sedente suscipi. D. Catharina Senensis Selectiora miracula formis Aeneis expressa. Antwerpia a. 1603. To prepare the credulous Readers heart the better to beleue this vision of Saint Catharines ascension into Heaven, opening it selfe to receive her, and her coronation with a triple Crowne, another relation perhaps was premised by the same Author, the effect whereof is, that having overthrowne the Devill after a grievous conflict, shee resigned her soule vnto God in the same yeare of her age, wherein our Saviour Christ (vnto whom the blessed Virgin, as this Legend relates, had espoused her with a ring) did resigne his soule into his Fathers handes. See Section fift, Chap. 41.

4. To giue the blessed Virgin a title vnto far greater honor then any Saint or other creature by their doctrine is capable of, it hath beene maintained, that she was conceived without originall sinne. And wanting all warrant of Scripture, or primitive Antiquitie for this conceit, they support it by revelations, which must be beleaved as well as any Scripture, if the Pope allow them. By whose approbation likewise every private mans relation of miracles wrought by any suiter for a Saintship, becomes more authentique than Apolloes Oracles; by whole authoritie Hercules and other Heroickes were enioyned to be adored as gods amongst the Heathen.

5. It was an * ingenuous and wise observation of

* Probatio autem sanc-

titatis per miracula tamen plurimum est suspecta, quia (ut supra dictum est) multis sunt con-
munita, & multa non Christiana, sed magica artis ostentamenta sunt, quae a simplicibus quasi
sanctitatis miracula acceptantur. Gerson ibidem. Deinde notandum quod in Legis tempore per
Mosen fiebant signa ingentia, quibus magi quidam per incantationes fecerunt similia, &c. ibidem
Hae autem antiqua miracula (per deum scilicet facta) quotidie in mysterio renovan-
tur in Ecclesia, quae etiam tanto maiora sunt, quanto non corporalia sed spiritalia. ibidem.

Sectio.4.

*Vnde quem
in canoniza-
tione sancti
Thoma de A-
quino oppone-
retur, quod
non fecerat
miracula in
vita, vel non
multa, dictū
fuit per Pa-
pam, non esse
curandum.
Gerson ibi-
dem p. 512.
Vide Plura
Gerson. trac-
tas octavo
super Magni-
ficat. partiti-
one tertia. de
custodia An-
gelica.

reverend Gerson, That famous miracles were to be suspected for lying wonders, unlesse they had some speciall use or extraordinary end. Now the onely use or iust occasion, we can obserue of Popish miracles in later times, hath bin either to purchase the reputation of Saints to such as wrought them whiles they liued, or to gaine a currant title to canonizatiō after their deaths. And the true reason in my opinion, why the Carthusians of all other religious orders, wrought not many miracles, was because they had no desire to be Saints of the Popes making. If they had sought to be graced by his Holines with publicke sanctitie, they must haue graced themselves & their order with a fame of wonders: otherwise that exception which was brought against Thomas of Aquine, would haue taken place against them. For even this Angelicall Doctor's title to canonization, was impeached by some, because* he had wrought no miracles: vntill his Holines cleared the doubt by a more benigne interpretation then Apollo's Oracle could haue given: *Tot fecit miracula, quot questiones determinauit*; Locke how many doubts he hath determined, and he hath wrought so many miracles. But by this reason he should haue placed him aboue most Saints, amongst the Angells. For it is scarce credible, that any Saint hath wrought halfe so many miracles, as are the doubts which this Doctor after his fashion hath determined; appositely enough for the Romish Hierarchie. And hath not the Pope good reason to make the Church militant adore their soules as gods in heaven, which haue made his Holines more than a Saint, a very god on earth? But because they deny, that the Church makes gods of such as the Pope makes

makes Saints, we are in the next place to discusse whether invocation of Saints, as it is publickely maintained by them, be not an ascription of that honour to the creature, which is onely due to the Creator.

CHAPTER XXIIII.

In what sense the Romanists denie or grant that Saints are to be invocated. Whether the Saints by their doctrine be mediate or immediate Intercessors betweene God and man. That they neither can conceale, or will they expresse the full meaning of their practise.

I.



Elar mine lib. 1. de Sanctorum beatitudine; cap. 16.* accounts the former imputation for one of Calvins malicious slanders. *Quis enim deo dicere auderet, Sancte Deus, ora pro nobis?* We must not thinke they are so foolishly impious, as to say, Holy God pray for vs. Nor did Calvin charge them with pulling downe God as low in every respect, as the Saints; but for exalting the Saints in sundry cases into the throne of God; howsoever they salute them by an inferior style. Nor will it follow that the Heathens did not worship many gods, because they did not equalize all with *Iupiter*, or vse the same forme of appellation vnto him & to their demi-gods or Heroikes. Or admitting the *Romanists* make no Saints equall to God the Father, or to any person in the Trinitie considered according to his Deitie alone: is it no sacrilege to invest them with Christs royall titles or prerogatives, as he is our high Priest and Mediator? It will vpon examination proue no slander,

* See Chap. 29. parag. 1.

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flander, but a just accusation, to say they make the Saints both sharers with Christ in his office of mediation, and with the glorious Trinitie in acts essentiall to the Deitie. But let vs first heare in what sense they themselves grant or deny Saints may be prayed vnto or otherwise adored, and then examine whether their answers to our arguments can stand with the forme of their Liturgie, or fit the maine point in question betwixt vs.

2. Some more auncient then *Epiphanius* (for he refuteth their heresie) held the Virgin *Mary* was to be prayed vnto after the same manner we pray to God. Betweene this excessive honor thus ascribed vnto the chiefe of Saints, and the other extreame (as they make it) consisting in defect or deniall of invocation of any Saints, *Bellarmino* labours to finde out a meane, which he comprehends in these propositions following. *Non licet à Sanctis petere ut nobis tanquam authores diuinorum beneficiorum gloriam vel gratiam aliaq; ad beatitudinem media concedant.* *Bellarmin. de Sanctorum beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 17.* It is not lawfull to request the Saints, that they as Authors of diuine benefits, would graunt vnto vs Grace or Glorie, or other meanes available to the attainment of Felicitie. His second proposition is; *Sancti non sunt immediati intercessores nostri apud Deum; sed quicquid a Deo nobis impetrant, per Christum impetrant.* *Ibidem:* The Saints are not our immediate Intercessors with God: but whatsoeuer they obtaine of God for vs, they obtaine it through Christ. I know not whether out of cunning or incogitancie, he hath expressed himselfe, (or rather left their full meaning vnexpressed) * in these tearmes, *per Christum*, not adding withall *propter Christum*.

* Nota, tres personas posse considerari, quādo nos Deum oramus; unam ipsius Dei, a quo petimus beneficia; alteram Christi, per cuius meritum ea cupimus nobis dari; tertiam eius, qui petit beneficia per Christum. Ex his tribus personis non potest prim. a Sanctis tribus, ut iam probauimus: sed solum tert. a Bellar. cap. 17. de Beat. Sancto.

stum. In the declaration he commends three parties to our consideration when we pray to God. 1. The person of whom we craue every good gift. 2. Him through whose merites we request they may be given vs. 3. The partie which craues them. Saints by his doctrine cannot supply the first, or second, but the third and last place. The onely meaning, whereto vpon better examination he will stand, is this, that Saints cannot be substituted in the stead of God the Father, or of Christ as he is the principall Mediator or primary Intercessor. But to say that we may not request favour of God the Father, *propter merita Sanctorum*, for merits of Saints; or request Saints to interpose their merites with Christs for more sure or speedie expedition, can neither stand with the profession or practise of the *Romish Church*. Bellarmine well vrged, will quickly be enforst to deny the conclusion, which he thus gathers from the premised propositions. **We pray (saith he) to the Saints onely to this end, that they would vouchsafe to doe what we doe, because they can doe it better and more effectually than we can; at least they and we together may doe it better then we alone.* And againe; *we may request nothing of the Saints besides their intercession with God, that Christs merits may be applyed to vs, and that through Christ we may attaine grace and glory.* For praying thus far to Saints, that speech of S. Bernard warranteth them; *Opus est mediatore ad mediatorem, nec alter nobis utilior quam Maria; we haue neede of a mediator to our mediator, and none more fit than Mary.* Hence they learne that Christ onely is the immediate intercessor, who is heard for his owne sake; the Saints are onely mediate intercessors, and can obtaine nothing which they aske with-

* Itaq; Sanctos invocamus ad hoc solum, ut faciant id, quod nos facimus, qui melius et efficacius ipsi facere possunt, quam nos, melius illi et nos simul quam nos soli. Probatur iam conclusio; solus Christus est, qui mundum reconciliavit Deo, & qui meruit nobis gloriam & gratiam & omnia necessaria ad salutem Bellar. ibidem.

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Bellarminus
ibidem.1. Tim. 2.
5.

out Christs mediation. Thus much is included in the forme of their prayers vpon Saints dayes, which are all conceived in this tenor; *Grant vs these or these benefits at the intercession of such or such Saints.*

3. The first part of his second proposition [That Saints are not immediate Intercessors for vs with God] he proues by places of Scripture so pregnant, that some of them directly disprooue all mediate or secondary Intercessors or Mediators, as *Coloss. 1. It pleased God that in him should all fulnesse dwell.* If all fulnesse, the fulnesse of mediation or intercession; and absolute fulnesse excludes all consort. *As there is but one God, so there is but one Mediator betweene God and man, no secondary God, no secondary Mediator.*

1. Ioh. 2. He is the propitiation for our sinnes: the absolute fulnesse of propitiation. And *Ioh. 10. he enstileth himselfe the Doore and Way, such a doore, and such a way, as no man may come vnto the Father, but by Him.* This restriction in our Divinitie, makes him the onely doore, and the onely way; not so in theirs: For wee must passe through other doores, that we may come to this onely immediate doore; that is, he is the onely doore, whereby the Saints are admitted into Gods presence, but Saints are necessary doores for our admission vnto him; *Opus est Mediatore ad mediatorem.* Were this Divinitie, which they borrow from *S. Bernard*, true, they much wrong *Aristotle* and *Priscian* in calling him, *Immediatus Intercessor aut Mediator*, and are bound to right them, by this or the like alteration of his title; *He is, unicus ultimus, aut finalis Mediator,* He is the onely finall or last Mediator. For a Mediator is not of one; whence to be an immediate Mediator, essen-

essentially includes an immediate reference to two parties. Christ is no Mediator but betweene God and Man, and betweene them he is no immediate Mediator, vnlesse men haue as immediate accesse to him, as he hath to God the Father. As *God*, he best knowes the nature and qualitie of every offence against the Deitie, vnto what sentence every offender is by justice liable, & how far capable of mercy; as *man*, he knowes the infirmities of men, not by hearesay or information, but by experience; and is readie to sollicite their absolution from that doome, whose bitterneesse is best knowne vnto him, not at others request or instigation, but out of that exact sympathie, which he had with all that truely mourned, or felt the heavinesse of their burden. Whiles he was onely the sonne of God, the execution of deserved vengeance was deferred by his intercession. Nor did he assume our nature and substance, that his person might be more favourable, or that his accesse to God the Father might be more free and immediate, but that wee might approach vnto him with greater boldnesse and firmer assurance of immediate audience, than before we could. He exposed our ~~flesh~~ made his owne, to greater sorrowes and indignities, than any man in this life can haue experience of; to the end he might be a more compassionate Intercessor for vs to his Father, than any man or Angell can be vnto him. We need the consort of their sighes and groanes, which are oppressed with the same burden of mortalitie here on earth, that our ioynt prayers may pierce the heavens but these once presented to his eares neede no solicitors to beate them into his heart. Surely if the intercession of
Saints

Sectio. 4. Saints had beene needfull at any time, most needfull it was before Christs incarnation or passion; when by the *Romanists* confession it was not in vse. The sonne of God was sole Mediator then.

* Sect. 5.
Chap. 42.
Parag. 4.

4. As the impietie of their practises doth grieve my spirit, so the dissonancy of their doctrine, doth as it were grate and torture my vnderstanding, while I contemplate their Apologies. Sometimes they beare vs in hand that God is a great King, whose presence poore wretched sinners may not approach, without meanes first made to his domestique servants. The concept it selfe is grossely Heathenish, and comes to be so censured in the next * Discourse. Now, seeing they pretend the fashion of preferring petitions to earthly Princes, to warrant the forme of their supplications to the Lord of heaven and earth, let vs see how well the patterne doth fit their practise. Admitting the imitation were lawfull, how could it iustifie their going to God immediately with these or the like petitions; *Lord I beseech thee heare the intercession of this or that Saint for me through Iesus Christ our Lord.* What fitter interrogatories can I propose vnto these sacrilegious supplicants, then *Malachy* hath vnto the like delinquents in his time? *If I be your Lord and King (as you entyle me) where is my feare? where is my honour, saith the Lord of Hostes, to you Priests that despise my name? and yet (being chalenged of disloyaltie) they scornefully demand, Wherein haue Wee despised thy name? Yee bring polluted offrings into my Sanctuary: and yet yee say wherein haue wee polluted thy Sanctuary? If yee offer such blind deuotions, as these, is it not euill? Offer them now to thy Governour, to thy Prince, or*
Sove-

for me, but worshipping Saints with a set form of prayer.

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Soveraigne; Will he be pleased with thee or accept thy person, saith the Lord of Hostes? He would either be thought to mock the King, and come within iust censure of disloyaltie; or els be mocked out of his skin by Courtiers, that durst exhibite a petition in this forme vnto his Maestie; Vouchsafe, I beseech you, to pardon my offences against your Highnes, and admit me into good place at the intercession of your Chauncellor, Treasurer, Chamberlaine or Controller, in honor of this his birthday, for the Princes sake your sonne my good Lord and Master: yet if we change onely the persons names, this petition (which could become none but the Princes foole to utter) differs no more from the forme of Popish prayers vpon Saints dayes, then the words of Matrimony uttered by *John* and *Mary* doe from themselves, whilest uttered by *Nicolas* and *Margaret*. The former respectlesse absurditie, would be much aggravated, if the Courtiers birthday, whom the petitioner would haue graced with the grant of his petition, should fall vpon the Kings Coronation day, or when the Prince were married. Of no lesse solemnitie with the *Romanist* is the feast of the Crosses invention, it is Christs coronation or espousals: and yet withall the birth-day of two or three obscure Saints, whom they request God to glorifie, with their owne deliverance from all perills and dangers that can betide them, through Christ their Lord. This last clause must come in at the end of every prayer, to no more vse than the mention of a certaine summe of mony doth in scoffements or deedes of trust, onely *pro forma*. *Presta quæsumus omnipotens deus, vt qui sanctorum tuorum Alexandri, Euentij, Theodoli atq; Iuuenalis natalitia colimus;*

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* In festo in-
ventionis
Sanctæ Cru-
cis.

*a cunctis malis imminentibus, eorum intercessionibus liberemur per Dominum, &c.** Grant we beseech thee Almighty God, that wee which adore the natiuitie of the Saints, of Alexander, Event, Theod. and Iuuenal, may by their intercession be delivered from all evils that hang over vs, through Iesus Christ our Lord. To be delivered from evils at or by the intercession of such Saints, is as much in ordinary constructiō, as to be delivered from them for their merites. And this is to share or divide the mediation of Christ betwixt him and such Saints, by even portions. For of the two principall parts of Christs Mediatorship, which the Auncient and Orthodoxall Church did exactly distinguish in the forme of their prayers, the first is, our hope or beliefe to be heard *propter Christum, for Christs sake*, for whose sake alone God graunts whatsoever He grants vnto mankinde: the second is, our beliefe or acknowledgement, that those blessings which God doth grant for Christs sake, are not conveyed or imparted vnto vs, but through Christ, or by Christ. He is not onely our Orator to God, but Gods hand to vs. Now the Romish Church in their solemne Liturgie expressly giues the first part of this mediation vnto Saints, and leaues the latter onely vnto Christ. The hymne sung or said vnto the Crosse vpon the same day, conceived in the character of magicke spells falls vnder the same censure, that worshipping of Saints Images or worshipping God in every visible creature doth. Of which Chap. 35, 36. The Hymne is thus; *O crux splendidior cunctis astris, mundo celebris, hominibus multum amabilis, sanctior universis: quæ sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi, dulcia ferens pondera: sal-*

for me, but worshipping Saints with a set form of prayer.

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ua presentem cateruam in tuis hodie laudibus cōgregatam, halleluia, halleluia. ibidem. O Crosse more splendent than all the starres, famous throughout the world, most amiable amongst men, more holy than the Vniuerse (or all things besides) which alone wast worthe to carry the Talent (or price) of the world, saue this present Congregation this day assembled to set forth thy prayes. Praise the Lord, praise the Lord. They that can be thus familiar with God, as to indent with him, at whose intercession their requests should be graunted, doe they in modestie neede Mediators vnto Christ?

5. Were there any hope of full or direct satisfacti-
on, I would presse this demand to any learned Papist;
What order those three parties whom *Bellarmino*
makes joynt Commissioners in the audience of pray-
ers, obserue in prayers of this forme: Whether they
expect that God the Father should first take their pe-
titions and acquaint Christ with them, and Christ the
Saints; or that the Saints should take them immedi-
ately and deliver them vnto Christ, that he may ac-
quaint his Father with them. They graunt the Saints
can heare no prayers immediately from our mouths,
much lesse discern their conception in our hearts:
they vnderstand them onely by seeing God; and for
this reason happily prayers of this forme, are in the
first place directed to God the Father, or to the Trini-
tie. Is God then, as the booke wherein they are writ-
ten, altogether senselesse of their meaning, vntill the
Saints, whose intercession they craue, read them vnto
him? or hearing them, is he vnwilling to grant them,
vntill the Saints haue expounded them? But what is
Christs office in the meane time? to request his Father
that

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that he would heare the Saints for his sake? or contrariwise, doth he and the Saints mediate for sinfull men both together, as joynt advocates? or doth He first open the case, and leave the Saints to prosecute it? or doe the Saints onely sue in his name, that God would communicate his merits vnto them; as sometimes in earthly Courts one of principall note beares the name, whilst another manageth the businesse? The supplicant should, methinkes, in good manners frame some petition to Christ, or aske his leaue, to vse his name in such suites as they would haue managed by this or that particular Saint, in honour of his birthday.

* *Vide Rib-*
ram in 7. ad
Hebra:
num. 72.

6. Perhaps this forme of prayer was first invented by such (for such in the * *Romish Church* there are, and aunciently haue beene) as deny Christ any kinde of intercession with his Father, besides the representation of his *Humanitie*. And mens hearts once wrought to this perswasion, would forthwith take the *impression* of artificiall begging, as the best forme of tendring their devout supplications vnto God. Now amongst beggers commonly one shewes his maimed limbs, or other rufull spectacle, to moue pittie; and others read the lecture vpon them. And thus doe these sacrilegious supplicants vpon great Festivals make Christ and their peculiar Saints, such sharers in the office of intercession, as the Creeple and the Gabler are in mens benevolences at Faires or Markets. The one must moue Gods eyes, and the other fill his cares.

7. If it shall please the Reader to compare *Bellarmines* pretended detection of fraudulent dealing in our Writers (Chap. 16.) with the declaration of his
second

second proposition hitherto discussed; He will easily assent vnto me, that the onely trick this cunning Sophister had to saue his mothers credit and her sonnes, was to call Reformed Churches whores first, and their children lyars. For who but the impudent sonne of an adulterous Mother, or one accustomed to shuffle beyond the compasse of a professed lyars art memoratiue; could haue avouched, what in the declaration of this second proposition he doth; *Sanctos invocamus ad hoc solum, We pray to Saints onely to the end, they may doe what we doe*, that is, as he expounds himself afterwards, *that Christs merits might by intercession of Saints be applyed vnto vs*. This (were this the onely end of praying to them) were in effect to request them, to stoope a little below their ranke, and become joynt supplicants with vs for reliefe of our necessities, and advancement of Gods glory. Is it then all one to request them to joyne with vs in the honor and service of God for our good, and to intend their honour and service in the prayers and requests which wee make; either to them, or to God, that he would accept their intercession for vs? Now it is but one part of the question betweene the Churches *Romish* and *Reformed*, [*Whether it be lawfull to request Saints deceased to ioyne in prayer with vs, as they did, or might haue beene lawfully requested to haue done, whilest they liued;*] The other part (whereto Bellarmine should haue framed his answer) is; [*Whether it be not formall Idolatrie to offer up our deuotions to Saints by way of honor, or to intend a religious worship or service of them, in those prayers, which wee offer up to God in his Sanctuarie*]. It is so constantly agreed vpon by all professed members of the *Romish*

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mish Church, (and was so expressly set downe by *Bellarmino* himselfe, as nothing but extreame necessitie of playing tricks, could haue shuffled it out of his memorie,) that of the seaven parts of Religious Worship due to canonized Saints, the second is *Invocation in publique Liturgies*, the fourth, *sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving*, which they offer vp to God in honour of such Saints: and of this latter kinde are the prayers before mentioned, vsuall vpon every Saints day. And *Bellarmino* thus begun the chapter next saue one before that wherein his former declaration is contained; *Demonstravimus sanctos esse colendos, sed quia peculiaris difficultas est de cultu Invocationis, &c.* We haue already demonstrated that the Saints are to be worshipped: but because the peculiar difficultie is concerning the worship of *Invocation, &c.*


* *Bellarmino*. de
beatitud.
Sanct. l. 1.
cap. 15.

8. This indeed, is the principall point in question, vpon whose deniall they endire vs of sacrilege against the Saints, as we doe them of flat Idolatry, or robbing God of his honour, for avouching the affirmative by their practise. *Cultus Invocationis*, the worship of *Invocation*, wee know well, is somewhat more then *Invocation*; and to invoke Saints in ordinary language, is more then onely to request their prayers: albeit to request these after their death, is but a relique of *Ethnicke* toolery; a superstitious impietie in professed Christians. What then? Doth that glory wherewith God arayes his Saints, utterly strip them of all honor and respect from men? Is the felicitie which they haue gotten, *Bonum magis laudabile, quam honorabile*? Are they worthy of prayse and not of honour? Their memory is honorable, but their persons not to

be honored by vs. Their absence makes them vn-
capable of such petitions, as we may (without danger)
make vnto others lesse holy, with whom we haue not
onely mysticall communion, but ciuill commerce.
And ciuill worship without the support of ciuill com-
mercement, is but a phantastique groundlesse cere-
mony, and an Apish obseruance. From these consi-
derations did *Calvin* justly deny all ciuill worship or
signification of such respect to Saints deceased, as was
due vnto them whilest they lived; and vtterly disclai-
med all religious worship either of them or of other
creatures dead or living. And because the *Iesuites*
delude the ignorant or vnobseruant by trickes of that
art, wherein they are best seene; to vnfold these
termes, with whose æquivocall vse they play fast and
loose, will be no losse of time, nor interruption of
discourse.

CHAPTER XXV.

*What Worship is. How it is divided into ciuill and Religi-
ous. In what sense it is to be graunted or denyed, that
Religious Worship is due to Saints. That the Romish
Church doth in her practise exhibite another sort of
Religious Worship vnto Saints, than her Advocates pre-
tend in their Disputations.*

I. hat some worship or honor more then
ciuill is due to Saints, whether liuing
with vs or departed, is the chiefe hold
whereat our Adversaries in this con-
troverſie ayme; whose cunning surprisall, as they pre-
sume,

Seccio. 4. sume, would make them entire Conquerors without farther conflict. Worship or adoration of what kinde soever, hath, (as both acknowledge) two degrees or parts.

Bellarmin. l. 1.
de Beatitud.
Sanct. c. 12.

1. The internall affection or serviceable submission which is as the soule or life.

2. The externall *note* or *signe* of such submission (as bowing, kneeling, supplication) these are the body or materiall part of Worship or Honour.

The internall submissiveue affection (without which the externall signe or gesture would be interpreted but a mockerie) is due onely vnto Intellectuall Natures; & must be differenced by the diversitie of their excellencies. Now intellectuall excellency is either *Communicative* and finite, or infinite and *incommunicative*. Such onely is the excellency of the divine Maiestie, whereunto they appropriate a correspondent Worship or service, which they enstampe *Cultus latría*: Nor doe we disprove it as counterfeit, though lately coyned, if we respect the *expresse difference* it beares for its *distinction* from all other kindes of worship. Thus much onely might be added for explication; [*We are bound not onely λατρεύειν θεῷ, to Honour God, infinitely more than man for his infinite excellency; but δαλνύειν, to doe him service and beare allegiance to him infinitely more absolute, then we owe to Princes, in that he is our Lord, Creator and Redeemer.*] Though both be alike due, yet service is more peculiar to him, than Honor. For in as much as we beare his image, wee are in some sort partakers of his intellectuall excellency, but altogether vncapable of its Infinitie: but the glorious prerogative of Creation or Redemption is altogether incommunicable.

cable. In these workes he admits no instrumentall service; much lesse can he brooke a partner in the glory redounding from them.

2. intellectuall excellency communicated to his creatures, consists;

1. In Naturall, Morall or Civill endowments, as in Wisedome, Valour, Magnanimitie, Nobilitie of birth, eminencie of place, or authoritie.

2. In gifts and graces of the Spirit, as sanctitie of life, heavenly wisdome, and favour with God.

Vnto the former, which we may tearme *temporall excellency*, they assigne civill respect or morall Worship; vnto *spiritual excellency*, a peculiar respect or reverence of a middle ranke, inferior to *latria*, or the worship which they giue to God, superior to that wherewith they honour Kings and Princes, secular Nobles or men in authoritie. And this for distinction sake they call *cultus dulia*, a Worship of service. Howbeit ^a one of their principall Advocates for customary Traditions, will not in this case allow the pretended custome of the Schooles, to prescribe against the evidence of the naturall and Grammaticall vse of this word in all good Writers: *Δουλεύειν*, saith *Peresius*, is to *serue*, and we are not the Saints servants, but their fellow-servants.

And ^b *Bellarmino* should either haue spared to censure this his good friend for scrupulositie, or els haue given a better resolutiō of his doubt, than he hath done; by alledging onely one place in Scripture, wherein *δουλεία* is taken not for slavery or servitude, but for honorary subiection. As when the Apostle saith, *Galat. 5. 13. Use not your libertie as an occasion to the flesh, but by loue serue one another.* [*διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις*].

R 2

In-

^a *Peresius*
part. 3. de
Tradit. con-
siderat. 7.

^b *Bellarmino* de
Sanct. bea-
titud. l. 1.
cap. 12.

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Indeede, to serue one another by course, is no act of servilitie; but a twisting of brotherly loue or chaine of good Fellowship: but if the bond of service be legall and not mutuall; he that is bound to serue, is properly a servant, and he that hath right to demand service of another, is truely a Master: such is the case betweene the Saints and vs, by our adversaries doctrine. Wee are bound in conscience to serue and worship them, *cultu δαλίας*: so are not they (I hope) bound to serue vs. *Bellarmines* instance makes more for *Peregrinus* than against him. But seeing their tongues are their owne, and no man may controll them in the vse of words: let them enioy their dialect; wee will take their meaning and follow the matter. The nature and qualitie of this *cultus δαλίας* they expresse (in opposition to vs) by *Religious Worship*.

3. Partly vnder the multiplicite of importances which these termes involue; partly, vnder a colour of reall distinction betweene the habites or fountaines whence these severall kindes of Worship must be derived, their sleightie conveyance is not easily discerned, vnlesse they be well eyed. To admit no greater multiplicite of habites or graces, than we haue neede of, is a point of good vse in every part of Divinitie. And setting aside * *Aquinas* his authoritie (which we may ouerthrow with *S. Austines*) what necessitie is there of cloathing our soules with two distinct habites of Religion; one of *latria*, wherewith wee serue God; another of *dulia*, whereby we tender such respect and service as is fit for Saints and Angells? For every abstract number, without addition or subtraction of any vnitie, without any the least variation in it selfe, necessarily

*Vide Bellar.
de Beatitud.
Sanct. lib. 1.
cap. 12. pa-
rag. 5.

rily includes a different proportion to every number that can be compared with it : and so doth every sanctified or religious soule, without any internall alteration, or infusion of more habites or graces, than that by which it is sanctified, naturally bring forth three severall sorts of religious and respectfull demeanour, 1. *towards God*, 2. *towards Saints or Angells*, 3. *towards Princes, men in authoritie, or of morall worth*. As it is but one lesson, *Giue honour to whom honour, loue to whom loue, tribute to whom tribute* * : so it is but one religious habite or rule of conscience that teacheth the practise of it. And in some sense it may be graunted that men in authoritie or of morall worth, must be worshipped with religious worship; in another sense againe, it must be denied, that Saints are to be worshipped with religious worship, though worthy of some peculiar religious respect, whereto Kings and Princes (vnlesse Saints withall) haue no title.

* Rom. 13.
7.

4. The *respect* or *service* which we owe to others may take this denomination of *Religious* from three severall References : First, from *the internall habit or religious rule of conscience*, which dictateth the acts of service or submission : secondly, from *the intellectuall excellency or personall worth of the partie to whom they are tendred* : thirdly, from *the nature and qualitie of the acts or offices themselves*, which are tendred to them, with the manner or circumstances of their tendring. According to the first denomination, we must worship vngodly Magistrates, and irreligious Princes with religious Worship. For if wee must doe all things for conscience sake, and as in the sight of God, our service wheresoever it is due, must

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be no eye service, no fained respect. All our actions and demeanours must be religious, as Religion is opposed to hypocrisie, dissimulation, or time-serving. And in this sense *religious* and *civill* Worship, are not opposite but co ordinate. Men truly religious, must be religiously civill in their demeanor towards others. If our *respect* or *service* take the denomination of *Religious* from the *personall worth* or *internall excellencie* of the partie whom we worship; it is most true, *wee are to worship Saints with more than meere civill Worship*. None of our Church (I dare be bound) will deny that godly and religious men, must be revered not onely for their vertues meere morall or politicke, but for their sanctitie and devotion. Yet is this all that the moderne *Papist* seekes to proue against vs. And from this Antecedent (which needes no prooffe) he presently takes that for graunted, which he shall never be able to prooue, either from these or other premises, to wit, That Saints are to be worshipped with religious Worship, as it is opposed to civill Worship. His meaning, if it reach the point in question, must be this; Wee are bound to offer vp the proper acts of Religion as prayers, with other devotions, by way of personall honour or service to the Saints. This wee say is formall Idolatrie.

5. It is one thing to tender our service in lowlinesse of spirit for conscience sake vnto the Prince; another to tender him the service of our spirit or subiection of our consciences. Religion binds me to bow my knee, or vse other accustomed signes of obeysance, in vn-fained testimony that I acknowledge him Lord of my body; armed with Authoritie from the *Maker* of

it to take vengeance vpon it, for deniall of its ſervice. Or, in caſe he puniſh me without cauſe, the bond of conſcience and Religion tyes me to ſubmit this outward man in humilitie of ſpirit, to the vnlawfull exerciſe of his lawfull power, rather than I ſhould graunt him the command or diſpoſall of my Religion; or honour him with the acts or exerciſes of it. In like ſort the ſight and preſence of any, whom God hath graced with extraordinary bleſſings of his Spirit, will voluntarily extort ſignes of ſubmiſſive reſpect from every ſanctified and religious ſpirit, in vndoubted token that they reverence Gods gifts beſtowed vpon him, and heartily deſire their ſoules might take ſome tincture or impreſſion from his gracious carriage or inſtructions, which they can hardly doe without ſome nearer linke of familiaritie and acquaintance: or at leaſt, would doe ſo much better, by how much the linke were cloſer, or their vicinitie greater. The right end and ſcope whereto the inſtinct of grace inherent in our ſoules doth direct theſe externall ſignes of ſubmiſſion, is to ~~wee~~ their ſoules and ſpirits whom we thus reverence, to ſome more intimate conjunction. This ſubmiſſive reverence, though not required by them, is on our parts neceſſary, for holding ſuch conſort or iuſt proportion with the abundant meaſure of Gods graces in them, as we may draw comfort and perfection from them. Contemplation of others excellency without this ſubmiſſive temper in our ſelues, either ſtirres vp envie, or occasioneth deſpaire: and yet all that theſe outward and vnſained ſignes of ſubmiſſion can lawfully plight vnto them, is the ſervice of our bodies or inferior faculties. Theſe


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we could be content to sacrifice not to them, but for their sakes: alwayes provided that we doe not preiudice the right or dominion, which our owne spirits and consciences have over our bodies, immediately vnder God. But to offer vp the internall and proper fruits of the Spirit vnto them by way of tribute and honour, is to dishonour, to deny that God which made them. The seedes of grace and true Religion are sowne immediately by his sole powerfull hand; and their native of-spring (acts of faith especially) must be reserved entire and vntouched for him. Prayers *intrinsically religious*, or *devotions* truly sacred, are oblations, which may not, which cannot without open sacriledge be solemnly consecrated to any others honour, but onely to his who infuseth the Spirit of prayer and thanksgiving into mens hearts. The principall crime whereof we accuse the *Romish* Church, and whereof such as purposely examine the inditement put vp by Reformed Churches against her and her children, are to take speciall notice; is her open professed direct intendment to honour them which are no gods, with those prayers or devotions, with these elevations of mindes and spirits, wherewith they present the onely wise, immortall King, in *Temples* dedicated to his service. He that prayed in olde times to an Idoll in a Grove destinated to his worship, did wrong the true God, after the same manner that he doth, which robs him of his Tyths, before they be set apart for his house. But to come into his house of prayer, with serious purpose to honour him with the sacrifice of a contrite or broken spirit, and in the time of oblation to divert our best intentions to the honor
of

of our fellow-creatures, is worse than *Ananias* and *Sapphira's* sinne: a lying to the holy Ghost, or a mockery of him; a sacrilegious purloining of that which was brought vnto the Sanctuary, and solemnly consecrated to the Lord of the Temple.

CHAPTER XXVI.

That the Worship which Sathan demanded of our Saviour, was the very same wherewith the Romish Church worshippeth Saints, that is, Dulia, not Latria according to their distinction. That our Saviours answere doth absolutely prohibite the offering of this worship not onely to Sathan, but to any person whatsoever, besides God. The truth of this assertion proued by S. Iohns authoritie and S. Peters.

I.  He doctrine delivered in the former Chapter, was a truth in olde times so cleare, and so well approued by the constant practise of liuing Saints, that the very quotation of that Law whereon wee ground it, did put the Devill himselfe, for the present, to a *non-plus*. But he hath bethought himselfe of new answers since, and found opportunitie to distill his intoxicating distinctions into moderne braines through Iesuiticall quills. Howsoever, to eyes not darkned with the smoake of hell, it will never take the least tincture of probabilitie, much lesse any permanent colour of solid truth, that the Tempter should demand *cultum latrie* (as now it is taken by the *Iesuites*) of our Saviour. Or, although he had set so high a price at the

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^a St. *Austine* (whose authority they wrest to this effect) was mistaken in the use or significatiō of the word *Latria*. His error was, in that he thought it did alwayes signifie religious worship or adoration of spirit: and this kind of worship he knew onely to be due to God; wher-

as he had observed the Latine word *adorare* to be common both to civill and religious worship. The same Father in 61. Question vpon *Genesis*, acknowledgeth no medium or meane betweene Civill adoration and *Latria*, that is, betweene civill worship and the worship which is due onely vnto God. The occasion of S. *Austines* distinction may be best gathered from his words; *Quæritur quomodo scriptum sit, Dominum deum tuum adorabis, & illi soli seruias, cum Abraham sic honorauerit populum quendam gentium, ut etiam adorares. Sed animaduertendum est in eodem præcepto, non dictum, Dominum deum tuum solum adorabis, sicut dictum est, et illi soli seruias, quod est Græcè λατρεύσεις. Talis enim seruitus non nisi Deo debetur. Aug. quæst. 61. super Gen. ^b Vide Vasques lib. 2. de adoratione disp. 8. cap. 12. num. 366.*

the first word vpon so faire commodities as he proffered; there could be no doubt of his readinesse to fall lower at the second, rather than to hazzard the losse of his Market. For he loues to play at small games, rather than altogether to sit out. And if the *Iesuites* answers to our arguments were currant; their Master with halfe of one of their skill in *Sophistrie*, might haue put ours to a new reply, as he did him twice, to a *scriptum est. It is written* (sayth our Saviour) *Thou shalt worship thy Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue*^a. True, sayth the *Iesuite*, *cultu latriæ*: for it is written, *αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις*, but not *αὐτον μόνον προσκυνήσεις*. For this kinde of worship (expressed by the Greeke *προσκύνησις*) by our ^b Adversaries doctrine is due to Saints. What was it then which the Devill did expressly demand of our Saviour, *Latria* or *Dulia*? neither expressly, but *προσκύνησις*, *Adoration*. But this Worship may be demanded vpon some higher style than befits Saints to accept or use. It may be demanded in testification of homage royall, or in acknowledgment of the partie to whom it is tendred for Lord and Sovereigne of the parties which tender it. To him that would thus reply, the reioynder is readie out of the text: for the Devill did not exact any externall signe

was (by the Romanists doctrine) not Latria but Dulia.

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of submission vnto himselfe, as vnto the supreamer disposer or prime fountaine of the temporall blessings, which he promised. The tenor of his promise was thus; * *All this power will I giue thee, and the glory of the kingdomes: for that is deliuered vnto me.* By whom? questionlesse by some Superior & more soveraigne Lord, from whose right he sought to deriue his warrant to bestow them; *To whomsoever I will, I giue it.* The warrant pretended in respect of the parties capable of the donation of it, is very large, but not without conditions to be performed by them: *If thou therefore wilt fall downe before me, and worship me, all shall be thine.* Προσκύνησις, or falling downe before him, being all the Tempter did demaund; our Saviours reply had neither beene direct nor pertinent, vnlesse the *exclusiue* particule *onely* be referred as well to προσκύνησις *worship* or *prostration*, as to λατρεία or *supreamer service*. Is it then but a meere tricke of wit, or poynt of Sophistrie without sinne thus palpably to divide that sense of Scripture which God had so closely joyned? Is it a pettie presumption onely, for a *Iesuite* to thinke he could haue caught the Devill more cunningly in his owne play, or haue gone beyond him with a mentall reservation, or evasion; if the like proffer had beene made to him, as was to our Saviour? For this in effect is the *Iesuites* answer. The Law forbids λατρείαν onely, the Devill required onely προσκύνησιν: therefore he demaunded nothing forbidden by the Law. To be able thus to play fast and loose with the sacred bond of Gods Law at his pleasure; or to loose the linke of absolute allegiance to supreamer Maiestie with frivolous distinctions pretended from some slips of the Auncients,

* Luk. 4.
vers. 6, 7.
Matth. 4.
vers. 9.

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ents, is that wherein the *Iesuite* glories. Such of this sublimated sect as stiffly maintaine, that not onely all Image-worship, but all civill vse of Pictures was forbidden the *Iewes*, are not ashamed to stand vpon the former glosse, as the best rocke of their defence for maintaining the distinction between *Dulia* and *Latria*. But the words of the Law are still the same, and therefore can admit no distinction now, which they might not then haue borne. Howbeit, were that Law abrogated so far as it concernes the vse of Images, it could not disanull this new distinction, were this grounded vpon any other pregnant Scripture, but so grounded it is not, it cannot be.

2. Such as would blush at the former Glosse, will perhaps reply, that the lowest degree of any worship was more than the Devill had right to challenge, and more than might be tendred to him by any Intelligent creature. The exception I graunt were good, if our Saviour had onely refused to worship him, because he was Gods enemy; but it no way toucheth the reason of his refusall, which is vniversally perpetuall. For he tooke no notice of the Devils ill deserts, but frames such an answer to the demaund it selfe, as was to stand for an vnalterable expositiō of that indispensable Law in respect of every creature either tempting or tempted in like sort, to the worlds end. None may worship or serue any Creature with *religious Worship*; all of vs must so worship and serue God alone. The words of the Text it selfe, as well in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew; are no more than these: *Thou shalt feare thy Lord thy God, and him shalt thou serue*. The super-eminent dignitie of the partie whose feare and service

service are enjoyned, doth (in our Saviours Logicke) make the indefinite Forme of the Commaundement, fully æquivalent to this vniversall Negative: [*No man may tender any act of religious feare, worship, or service, to any man or Angell, to any thing in heaven or earth, or in the regions vnder the earth, but onely to him who made all, who is Lord of all; whom all are bound to feare and worship, with all their hearts, with all their soules, and all their might*]. And of all kindes of religious feare or service, *Cultus dñi* is either most improperly or most impiouly tendred to Saints and Angels. For though as in Gods house there be many Mansions, so no doubt there be severall degrees or rankes of Attendants, yet the highest and the lowest members of Christs mysticall body are brethren; the greatest Angell, and the least amongst the sonnes of men, are fellow-servants. Doe wee speake this as men vnwilling to bow their knees vnto their betters without hope of gaine, or loath to spend their breath without a fee; or doth not the Scripture say the same? Doe not such of our Lord and Masters servants as are cloathed with glory and immortalitie, and daily behold his presence in perfect ioy, inhibite the first proffers of such obedience to them present, as the Romish liturgie solemnly consecrates to the shrines and statues of others much meaner, in their absence? How beautifull were the feete of that heavenly Embassador, how glorious and ioyfull were the tydings he then brought vnto the Inhabitants of the earth; * *Blessed are they which are called vnto the marriage supper of the Lambe: these are the true sayings of God*. Such was the state of the messenger, and such his message, as did well deserue to haue

* Rev. 19. 9.

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haue an Apostle for his Scribe ; for He bid him write. And yet when this his Secretary fell at his feete, *vers. 10.* to worship, he laid vnto him ; *See thou doe it not : I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that haue the testimony of Iesus : worship God.* Did S. Iohn want wit to reply ; So I will, *cultu latriæ* ; but Thee my Lord (his Embassador,) also *cultu duliæ* ? This is a distinction of such subtiltie, that it surpasseth all skill or spirit of prophecies. Otherwise, S. Iohn might haue knowne the vse of it, when he had better opportunitie to vse it, than any had since. Yet if he had beene so disposed the Angell prevented him, *I am thy fellow servant*, and it is the dutie of servants, not to seeke honour one of another, but to be yoke-fellowes in their Masters service ; consoorts in setting forth his honour. * *Bellarmino* was conscious that his first answer to this place, (though borrowed from Antiquitie) was erroneous or impertinent ; *Corrigendus fuit adorator non propter errorem adorationis sed propter errorem personæ : Saint Iohn was not to be reformed for offering to worship Him whom he tooke to be Christ, but in that he mistooke the Angell for Christ.* Saint * *Austines* words, vpon which *Bellarmino* was too wise to rely too much, are these ; *Talis apparuerat Angelus ut pro Deo posset adorari, et ideo fuerat corrigendus adorator ; The Angel did so appeare, as he might seeme to be God, or to be worshipped as God, and therefore the worshipper was to be rectified.*

3. But let vs try whether his second cogitations be any sounder. Saint Iohn did well in preffering to worship the Angell ; as Abraham, Lot, and other of his godly ancestors had done : but the Angel did prohibite him in reverence to Christs * *humanitie*. For since the Angels themselves

* *Bellar. l. i. de Sanctior. beatitudine. cap. 14.*

* *Aug. questione. 61. in Gen.*

* *Bellarmin. ibid. de Sanct. beatitud.*

selues haue done homage to Christs humanitie, they will not receiue that homage from men, which before Christs incarnation they did. Let him pretend what authoritie he list for the truth of this reply, it is impertinent to the point in question; and we may drive him to another shift by pressing this evasion. For if the Angels since Christs incarnation haue released men of their wonted homage; or rather wholly resigned it into Christs hand, abandoning the least acknowledgment of religious worship when they come as Gods Embassadors in person: wee demaund whether the Romish Church did well or ill in commaunding her sonnes and daughters to worship them still in this latter age, wherein wee expect Christs comming in glory to Iudgement? The forme of *Bellarmines* second answere is very strange, and such, as he derides *Brentius*, for vsing in a matter farre more capable of it. *Wee rightly worship Angels, and the Angels rightly refuse to be worshipped by vs.* For after the Angell had given out his prohibition, *Vide ne feceris*, cap. 19. ver. 10. See thou doe it not: the Apostle offers to doe the like againe, csp. 22. ver. 9. as well knowing that he did well in worshipping, and the Angell as well in refusing to be worshipped. Nor may wee suspect, that Saint Iohn was either indocile or forgetfull. Much lesse may we suspect that God Almighty would haue his children of the Church militant and triumphant to complement it all the yeare long, in such manner as strangers will for a turne or two at their first meeting: the one in good manners offering, and the other better refusing the chiefe place or precedence; least of all may we thinke, that one of Gods glorious Embassadors, could out of maydenly modestie

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modestie be driven to maintaine false doctrine. To haue avoided the first proffer of worship so peremptorily forbidden, [*See thou doe it not,*] had beene enough to disprooue the solempne practise of it in whomsoever. But not herewith content, he giues a generall reason of his prohibition; *See thou doe it not: for I am thy fellow-servant, worship God.* May wee not supply his meaning by Analogie of our Saviours Comment vpon the Text of the Law, [*Worship him alone, whom the Angels can never worship too much, nor any man on earth enough*].

4. It is a warrant to our Churches, fully sufficient, not to doe homage vnto Angels absent, because in presence they refuse and forbid it. By what warrant the *Romish* Church can obtrude it vpon them against their wills, let her sonnes looke to it. Wee haue cause to suspect, and they to feare, that the Devill and his swift messengers haue played *Gebazies* with their *Namans*; runne to their Rulers in these heavenly Prophets names, to demaund such gratifications, vpon false pretences, in their absence, as they resolutely refused, when in all reason they best deserved them, if at any time they might haue taken them. The Disciple is not aboue his Maister; much lesse is the pupils practise to be imitated before the Tutors doctrine. *S. Iohn* in this Dialogue was the pupill: doe they then grace him by taking his proffer to worship this Angel for their warrant, or rather wrong the Angel in not admitting his two-fold inhibition (at both times obeyed by this his schollar) for a sufficient caveat to deterre them from making the worshipping of Saints and Angels a speciall part of their solempne service?

But

But this is the curse which by Gods just judgement is fallen vpon them for detayning the truth in vnrighteousnesse; That as the Horse-leach sucketh onely the melancholy humor out of mens blood: so these *Locusts* having relinquished the pure fountaine of truth, must long alter the dregs of Antiquitie in their doctrine, and in their practise feede principally vpon such infirmities of the flesh, as sometimes mingle themselves with the spirituall behaviour of Gods Saints. For even the soules of Gods dearest Saints haue their habitation, during this life, with flesh and blood. And albeit we sinfull men may not passe our censures vpon *S. Iohn*, nor measure his carriage in the Angels presence, by any the least oversight in our selues, who are never raught beyond our selues, in such admiration of spirit, as he then was: yet the holy Angel with whose glorious appearance he was astonished, might discover the misplaced motions of his spirit or affection by some such outraying or mis-fashioned lines in his bodily gesture or outward behaviour; as an expert Courtier would quickly espie in a meere contemplative Scholar, called into some Court-like audience. This carriage was for the present more pardonable in him, than the continuall imitation of it can be in any. A gracious Prince would take little or no displeasure, if a man in a dreame or traunce, or in some extraordinary passion of feare arising from apprehension of imminent danger, or of ioy for vnexpected safetie; should bestow royall titles on his speciall benefactor, or preferre extemporary petitions or *gratulations ore tenus* in such submissiue style or gesture, as might impeach, as well the greatest subject in the Kingdome that

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should

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should accept them, as the meanest that could offer them, of disloyaltie, if they were drawne into legall forme or daily practise. Admitting the Angel had not twice disallowed the worship proffered by the Apostle: yet if we consider the extasie or strange exultation of spirit, whence it was wrested; the delinquencie of the Romish Church (vsing his example for a patterne of their behaviour in publicke and solemne service, when no occasion of like passion is offered either by Angelicall presence or joyfull Embassage) argueth more wilfull and contemptuous disloyaltie towards God, than the former supposition implieth towards earthly Princes. And as it is a point of indiscretion to shew such peculiar observance to great Personages in the Princes presence, as good manners else-where would exact; so to tender such solemne worship to Saints and Angels in the Church or house of God, is a circumstance which much aggravateth the haynousnesse, or rather induceth an alteration of the qualitie of the Worship it selfe; enough to make it superstitiously Religious, though otherwise decently civill, or offensive onely in excesse.

5. But to what end did the Apostle so carefully register the Angels two-fold prohibition, or his owne reiterated checke? To blazon his owne dignitie and high respect with Angels; or to embolden others of meaner place in the Church Militant, to fasten that kindnesse vpon them absent, which would not be accepted from him whiles he spake with them face to face? * Some *Romanists* thinke such lowly obeysance did not so well become *S. Iohn*, because he was a Priest, others, because he was a Virgine: and the office of Priest-

* *Vide Bel-
larmin. loco
citato.*

Priesthood, is, in their doctrine, as great; Virginitie, in a man of his age, a greater dignitie than Angelicall excellencie. Virginitie, (I thinke) is more scarce and rare in *Romish* Priests, than the gift of Prophecie or familiaritie with Angels, is in other men; and this is the reason that they set so high a price vpon it. Others coniecture the spirit of Prophecy did priuledge this great Apostle from the common service of Angels. But the greater skill he had in heavenly mysteries, the greater were his motiues to worship this Angell (vnder God) his principall Instructor. And Saint *Peters* refusall of like obeyſance from *Cornelius*, doth so crush all these, and whatsoever pretences can be brought, that they can never seeme whole or sound againe to such as first made them.

6. *Cornelius* was neither Prophet, Priest, nor Virgine, a *Gentile* by birth, and a novice in faith; committed by the Angell of God to *S. Peters* instruction. He was in conscience and Religion bound to reverence this great Apostle; not onely for his religious and sanctified life, but as his Father in God, his chiefe Gardian vnder Christ. But might he therefore worship him with *religious worship*, as his intermediate advocate or intercessor with God, as his peculiar patron? No: when he offred no other signe of submission to *S. Peters* person, than every *Romish* Priest and Prelate doth vnto his Image; he tooke him vp, and warnes him not to fall downe before him, or any Saint so againe: *I my selfe also am a man*. But may not this speech imply that *Cornelius* tooke him at first sight for a god, and so polluted his externall worship with this internall misconceit? Sure he that was so well acquainted

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* Acts. 10.
ver. 5, 6.* Plinius in
Historia.
Similia ha-
bet Lactan-
tius.

with the Iewish Religion, and * so well spoken of by the *Jewes*, did not acknowledge more Gods than one. And he could not be ignorant, *that one Simon Peter, which lodged with one Simon the Tanner*, was neither this one God whom he before had worshipped, nor any God. For would the Angell haue willed him to send to *Ioppa* for God to come vnto him? But albeit *Cornelius* from the first to the last did perfectly know *Simon Peter* to be a man, yet he knew him to be a man sent from God to instruct him in the way of life. And out of that naturall infirmitie of flesh and bloud, which (wanting such as *S. Peter* was, to checke or controll it,) brought forth Idolatry in the Heathens and the *Romanists*, he sought to entertaine Gods Embassador in most lowly and submissiue fashion. To set their hearts too much vpon such creatures as are Gods instruments for their extraordinary good, is a temptation wherewith good natured men, (such as *Cornelius* was) without spirituall instruction are soonest overtaken. And out of the abundance of affectionate desire to testifie his thankfulness in the best sort that he could; he renders that to the Embassador which was due onely to his Maister. * *Hic est vetustissimus referendibene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus ascribant*; The most auncient manner of expressing thankfulness to speciall benefactors, is to inroll them in the Kalender of Gods or diuine powers. After the holy Ghost to the astonishment of the circumcision had fallen vpon all that heard *Peters* words, in testimony that they were the words of God; did either *Cornelius* himselfe, or the meanest *Gentile* present, fall downe and worship *S. Peter*, though not as the author and fountaine of that

that inestimable blessing, whereof all were made partakers, yet as the immediate Intercessor which had procured it? No: S. Peter had so well instructed *Cornelius* before, that as the * Text resolves vs, the first fruits of their new tongues, were offered vp immediately in sacrifice unto God which had given such gifts to men. The spirit whereof they were partakers, taught them to glorifie the giver onely; not man, which had nothing, which he had not received.

7. Never had any man juster occasion to worship an Angell than S. *Iohn*, or a Saint than *Cornelius* and his company had? The reason why the Lord in wisdom would haue, as well their willingness to worship, as the Angels & S. Peters vnwillingnes to accept their proffered submission, so expressly registred, was to imprint the true meaning of that Law in the hearts of all that should reade thole Stories: *Thou shalt worship thy Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue*; as also the necessitie of that caveat which another Apostle had given to posteritie: * *Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humilitie and worshipping of Angels, intruding himselfe into things which he hath not seene, vainely puffed up in his fleshly minde.* If so maine a pillar of Christs Church, as S. *Iohn* (who foresaw the generall Apostasie from the sincere worship of God to Antichristian Idolatry) were thus shaken with this temptation, it was not to be expected, that any (after that Sathan who can transforme himselfe into an Angel of light, was let loose) should be able to stand without vigilant attention unto *Iohns* admonitions, and these fayre warnings which God had given the world in him and *Cornelius*. A senselesse and reprobate stupidity

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*Vasquez. l. 1.
de Adorat.
disput. 5.
cap. 3.


*Bellarm.
de Sanctior.
beatitudine.
lib. 1. cap. 4.

ditie more than *Jewish*, hath befallen most of the moderne *Romanists* for their wilfull relapse into Heathenish Idolatrie. What heathenish Priest did ever frame an answer to the obiections of the *Orthodoxe*, either so ridiculous in it selfe, or which might argue such a respectlesse esteeme of the divine Maiestie, whom they were chalenged to wrong, as **Vasquez* and *Salmeron*, with others, haue made to this instance of *S. Peter* and *Cornelius*. *S. Peter*, say these *Iesuites* (in part approved by **Bellarmino*, who loues to haue two strings to his deceitfull Bowe) disclaimed the worship offred him, not as if it were not due vnto him. How then? In modestie. Doth this make for them or against them? If it were his modestie to refuse it from *Cornelius*, it would be good manners in them not to offer it till they know more of his minde, or meete him face to face as *Cornelius* did; who yet did not presse him to take it, as in good manners he should, if out of modestie onely he had refused it. But they haue made *S. Peters* Image of such a mettall, as it will not easily blush, & charm'd it with such new distinctions, as it shall not tremble, whiles they doe such homage to it as would haue moved *S. Peter* himselfe, no lesse than the peoples dauncing before the golden Calfe did *Moses*. The Image they thinke doth well approue of their service, in that it doth not disallow it, nor bid them stand vp, saying, (what it could not truely say, albeit these *Impostors* could teach it to speake) *for I also am a man*. Yet if *S. Peter* himselfe heare their prayers, and see their gestures to it, as well as if he were amongst them, will he not be as modest in Gods presence, who is alwayes an vndoubted spectator of this their service, as he was before

before *Cornelius*? Will he not disavow their practise as quite contrary to his example; and their doctrine, as directly contradictory to his instructions? And doe they truly honour, or rather foully vilifie *S. Peter* and the rest of Gods glorious Saints, in obtruding greater honour to their Images of liuelesse wood and stone; than any Christians offered to them whilest they lived, or, were they present, yet are capable of?

CHAPTER XXVII.

That the respect which wee owe to Saints deceased, (supposing they were really present with vs) doth differ onely in degree, not in nature or qualitie from the respect which wee owe unto true liuing Saints. That the same expression of our respect or obseruance towards Saints or Angells locally present, cannot without superstition or Idolatrie be made unto them in their absence.

I.  Suppose *S^t Peter*, or the Angell whom *S^t Iohn* proffered to adore, should undoubtedly appeare vnto vs, and vouchsafe vs libertie of proposing our desires vnto them: we might and would tender them respect and reverence (not for their civill dignitie, or hopes of promotion from them, but for their personall sanctitie) which should exceed all the reverence wee owe to ordinary godly men, as much as the civill Honours we giue to *Kings* doth our civill respect of any subiect that is our better. But, as our soveraigne obseruance of *Kings* or supream earthly Maiestie, may not transcend the latitude of civill honour; so neither might

Sectio. 4. wee tender such honour, reverence, or worship to S. *Peter* or the Angell, (were they present) as would transgresse the utmost bounds of that respect or reverence, which is, in some measure, due to every godly man. The difference betweene our respect to Angells, the blessed Virgine, or to Saints of the highest ranke, and the lowest, may be greater in degree, than the *latitude* of civill honour, (in respect of Monarchs and their meanest officers) can afford; because the amplitude of sanctifying grace doth (for ought we know) farre exceed the measure of morall vertues or latitude of civill dignitie. But the severall observances which we owe to Kings and to others that are our betters in the ranke of subiects, differ more in specificall *qualitie* and *essence*; than the severall respects which are due to Angels or Saints of the highest order, and to religious *Lazarus*, were both equally present. For Kings, in matters concerning our goods or bodies, have a soveraigntie communicated to them from God, not communicate by them to their greatest subiects: so have no Saints or Angels in matters spirituall any Lordship or dominion over vs; wee owe no allegiance of our spirit, save onely to one Lord. Christ in these cases is our sole King (whose felicitie is communicated to all his followers, his soveraigntie to none:) in respect of him, the greatest Saints and Angels be our fellow-subiects. What respect or reverence then doe we owe them in respect of prayers or invocations, suppose we might speake with them face to face? As our necessities would compell vs to request their prayers to God for vs; so good manners would teach vs to fit the *manner* of our observance or submissive entreatie, to the mea-

measure of their sanctitie, or of that favour which they haue with God, in respect of ordinary godly men; whose prayers we craue with due obseruance of their persons. The rule of religious discretion would so proportion our obedience to their instructions, as their instructions are proportioned to the directions of visuall Pastors: we would be readie to doe them any bodily service with so much greater fidelitie and better affection than we doe to others, as we conceiue them to be more faithfull and seruent in Gods service than others are. But Religion it selfe, and the rule of Gods word, which they most exactly obey, would restraine vs from falling downe before them with our bodies, with purpose to lift vp our minds vnto them, as to our patrons or secundary Mediators. To offer vp the fruites of the spirit, or consecrate the spirit of prayer and thanksgiving to the honour of any, saue onely of him that made, redeemed and sanctified our soules and spirits, is, (wee maintaine it vnto death) sacrilegious heathenish impiety. Yet must *dulia* which these men consecrate wholly to the honour of Saints, be of necessitie an essentiall part of the spirit of prayer, if the prayers themselves, which it brings forth be as they contend, *Cultus verè religiosus, true or intrinsically religious worship*. Religion is the bond or linke betweene the *Creator* and the *creature*: the *essence* of religious prayers consists in the *elevation* of the spirit: the vse and end of the spirits elevation, is that we may be ioyned in spirit with Christ. To fixe our hearts on anything besides God, is a spirituall fornication or adultery; but thus to elevate our spirits which Christ hath espoused vnto himselfe by grace, vnto Saints and

Se&tio.4. and Angels (as they doe, that direct religious prayers vnto them) in the house and Temple of God, is like an incestuous pollution of the marriage bed; as if a woman betrothed vnto the eldest brother and heyre apparant vnto the Crowne, should prostitute her bodie vpon her marriage-day to his kinsman or younger brother.

2. But admit *S. Peter* or some Angell should by Gods appointment vouchsafe their locall residence againe amongst the Inhabitants of the earth, worke miracles, heale diseases, and instruct *vivâ voce*, in the remote deserts of *Africke* or in the *Indies*, where we could neither haue personall accessse vnto them, nor commend our suites vnto them by letter, or interposed messenger; might wee here in *England* kneele downe, and turning our faces towards the place of their residence, poure forth the requests of our hearts vnto them as *Daniel* being in exile did his towards *Ierusalem*, wherein God had promised to dwell? This were to outstrip the Heathen as well in the *essentiall forme* of Idolatrie, as in the degrees of superstitious or magicall folly? What heathen did ever exhibit solemne worship, or poure forth their petitions for ayde or succour vnto *Apollo*, *Mercurie*, or *Æsculapius*, much lesse vnto their *Demi-gods* or *Heroikes*, saue onely in places where they supposed them resident, as in their Temples, about their Oracles, or before shrines or Idols, which (according to *Ethnicke Divinitie*) were in a sort animated with their presence? Or, admitting any heathen living in *Asia*, should haue directed his prayers towards *Hercules* his Temple in *Greece*, might not his folly haue beene iustified by the same Apologie,

gie, which the *Romanist* brings for his, if that were iust and orthodoxall? *Iupiter est quodcunq; vides*, The supreme power adored by him vnder the name of *Iupiter*, he might (with good approbation of the Learned,) haue avouched to be every where able and willing to acquaint the lesser Gods (his more intimate friends, with whom he might be bolder) with his petitions in so great distance. To be perswaded that any *Saint* should be able at all houres of day and night, to take notice of all the petitions, that are or can be made vnto him in *Italy, Germanie, France, and Spaine*, or throughout the whole world, is to ascribe greater divinitie vnto him, than any Heathens did to their ordinary Gods, whom notwithstanding they conceived worthy of divine *Honour*. The fruition of his presence who knowes all things at all times, cannot make Saints or Angels so capable of this perpetuall vbiqitary knowledge, as personall vnion with him, who is every where *essentially present*, might make *Christs body* of vbiqitary locall presence: yet to maintaine it to be so present every where, is in our Adversaries judgement, an heresie; but a farre greater to ascribe this vbiqitary knowledge vnto Saints. And out of this conceipt to direct prayers to them in heaven from every part of the earth, is formall Idolatrie, as well in practise as in opinion; *For God even God onely knowes the hearts of all the Children of men.* 1. King. 8. ver. 31.

3. To conclude, with what manner of respect or observance (in particular) glorified Saints or Angels are to be entertained by vs mortall men, is a point impossible to be determined, vntill wee haue iust occasion

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on to dispute it. And other ocession we can haue none, save what their presence or commerce with vs shall administer. Or, admitting their vndoubted apparitions were at this day as rise, as heretofore they haue beene pretended, it would be the first part of our dutie to fashion our selues vnto such observance as they would prescribe vs, not to prescribe them what manner of honour they were to receiue from vs. Gods word concerning their worship is silent, save onely that Saint *Paul* hath advised vs to content our selues with ignorance in these secrets, vnto whose search we are not called; to affect whose knowledge, wee can haue no provocation or impulsion besides the *vaine-swelling of our fleshly mindes*. But, whatsoever respect or observance might lawfully be tendered to their infallible appearance, cannot without impious folly be seriously proffered to them whilest they appeare not: and solemnly to consecrate it to their Images whose persons we never sawe, is the height of impietie. Civilitie & common sense may enforme vs that to tender such respect or signes of submission to Princes or great Personages, whom wee see a farre off, as would become vs being admitted to conference with them, would argue either distraction of minde, or clownish simplicitie. Though it were lawfull to expresse our necessities with bended knees to Saints or Angels vouchsafing their presence, and to implore their intercession for vs with sighes and teares; yet may not such as haue eyes, pray to them or any whom they cannot see, save onely to him who is *invisible*. None that haue sense, may pray to any of whose veruall presence or acquaintance with our affaires, we haue

haue no sensible vndoubted pledge; saue onely to him whom we know not by sense, but by the spirit of grace and faith, every where to heare and know all things that are done or sayd any where. Howbeit for every man at all times, in every place, vpon all occasions to worship *him* in such manner, as they without offence, with true devotion, haue done, vnto whom his extraordinary presence hath beene manifested, would be but a superstitious obseruance. For although we be fully assured, that he sees our gestures, knowes our hearts, and heares our petitions, at all times and every where alike; yet he sees that we haue not alwayes the like occasions, which they had, to pray or worship as they did. And any extraordinary manner of worship without extraordinary impulsion, is will-worship. More particularly; Religious prayers being proper acts of faith, vnlesse they be made in faith, are most properly *ex opere operantis* not of faith, quite contrary to the rule of faith, which in any point to crosse, is a presumptuous sinne; but to contradict it in matters of religious worship, is the sinne of Idolatrie. Now religious prayers cannot be conceived or exhibited to any in faith, without certaintie of faith, that they to whom they are exhibited, doe heare vs. Seriously to tender requests to the soules of Saints deceased, farther distant from vs than any one part of the earth is from another, after the same manner we might do, vpon certaine notice of their presence, or mutuall pledges of commerce with vs, is but to offer the sacrifice of fooles vnto the winde, or to sow the element wherein we breath, with the poysonous seedes of Ethnicke superstition. And so in fine the *Romanist* doth

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“ doth not enrich the Saints, but stockes and stones
 “ (the workes of his owne hands) with that honour
 “ whereof he hath robbed his God. His adoring, his
 “ kissing and his worshipping of Saints and Images
 “ with bended knees and other signes of submission,
 “ is but a solemne invitation of infernall *ghosts* to
 “ keepe residence about them. These are the *Harpies*
 “ which defile Gods service, and devoure the peoples
 “ offerings, which their enchanted Priests would per-
 “ swade them were presented to & accepted by Gods
 Saints. To thinke the Saints should be permitted to
 receive our particular petitions, and not be permitted
 to returne their particular answers; or not be enabled
 as freely to communicate their mindes to vs, as we to
 impart our desires to them, is an imaginatiō so grosse,
 that it can haue no ground either of faith or common
 reason. Wee may retort *Bellarmines* and his Consorts
 arguments for invocation of Saints vpon themselues.
 That the Saints, whom they invoke, doe not im-
 part their mindes vnto their supplicants in such par-
 ticular manner as their supplicants impart their de-
 sires to them, it is either because they will not, or they
 cannot. To say they will not if they can, is to impeach
 them of pride or want of charitie: to say they cannot,
 is to slander them with impotencie, or with want of
 favour with God. For He that enables them as they
 suppose He doth to heare vs speak from earth to hea-
 ven, can questionlesse enable them so to speake or ex-
 presse themselves, that wee might heare them from
 heaven to earth. It is but one and the same branch of
 his infinite power and goodnesse to giue Saints de-
 ceased the like vse and exercise of *spirituall tongues*,

with them, is an heathenish superstitious folly.


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as He graunts them, by the Romanists doctrine, of spiritual cares.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Romish Church in her publicke Liturgies expressly giues those glorious titles vnto Saints, vnto which no other reall worship besides the worship of Latria is answerable.

I.  Seeing as well prayers in the first place directed vnto Saints, as these which they tender immediately vnto God vpon Saints dayes, are offered vp in honor of the Saints, in the same place wherein, and with the same externall signes of observance wherewith they solemnly worship God: what note of difference haue they left to distinguish themselves from grosse Idolaters? Onely the internall conceipt which they haue of diuine excellency, as much greater then Angelicall dignitie. But how shall we know this different esteeme of God, of Christ and of his Saints to be truly seated in their hearts, without open confession of the mouth, making some distinction in the solempne and publicke profession of allegiance to both? Is the forme then of their deuotion to God and Christ, as accurately distinguished by any soveraigne title from their supplications vnto Saints, as petitions to Kings and Princes are from petitions made vnto their officers? One of the most peçuliar titles of Christ as Mediator, (by Bellarmines confession) is *that in the tenth of Iohn, Ego sum ostium, I am the doore*; for from this attribute

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attribute he proues him to be the only *immediate Mediator*. If He who is the doore be the onely immediate Mediator, what manner of Mediatrix must *shee* be which is the gate, the blessed gate by which *the righteous enter*. Did he conceiue his second proposition before mentioned in termes more wary then we were aware of; *Sancti non sunt immediati intercessores*, *Saints are not our immediate intercessors*, but some Sain-tesse may make immediate intercession? For so they pray vnto the blessed Virgine;

* *Viâc Rosa-
rium Maria.*

* *Ave maris stella,
Dei mater alma,
Atq; semper virgo,
Fœlix cœli porta;
Haile, starre of the Sea,
Gods sweete Mother (and Mate,)
Everlasting Virgine,
Heavens happie gate.*

And yet it seemes they make her withall the founda-
tion or foundresse of our faith: for so it followeth in
the same hymne;

Funda nos in pace.

Yea the fountaine of sanctification, from whose full-
nesse we receiue grace for grace:

*Virgo singularis,
Intra omnes mitis,
Nos culpis solutos,
Mites fac & castos.
Vitam presta puram,
Iter para tutum.*

Of Virgines the very prime and floure;
Whose brest of meekenesse is the bowre:
From guilt vs free, which soule doth waste;
And make, oh make vs meeke and chaste.
Our lines vouchsafe first to make pure;
Next that our Iourney prone secure.

And because God is called the King of heaven and
Father of mercy, who hath the issues of death in his
hands, shee must be entitled the Mother of mercy,
&c.

* *Maria mater gratiarum,
Mater misericordia;
Tu nos ab hoste protege,
Et horâ mortis suscipe.*

*Mary of grace, Mother milde,
Who hast mercie for thy childe;
Hide and saue vs from our foe,
When from bodies soules shall goe.*

From this her milde and mercifull temper, they hope
(it seemes) that shee is able to let some into heaven
by the window, which may not be allowed to come in
by the ordinary doore or foregate:

Cæli fœnestra facta es. Officium B: Marie, &c.

The attributes of Wisedome, Eccles the 24. are sung
or sayd as part of her honour; *Ab initio, & ante seculum
creata sum, & vsq; ad futurum seculum non desinam, et in
habitatione sancta coram ipso ministravi.* Of this stamp
is that Hymne to the Apostles, cited by Bellarmine
without blushing. *Lib. de Beatitud. Sanct. cap. 17.*

T

* Quo

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*Vid Delri. l.
4. c. 1. q. 2. f. 2
Bellar. lib. 1.
de Sanctior.
beatit. c. 17.
Conspiturer
Deiparam
Virginem vt
sponsam, eua-
ngeliam fuisse
suum patris,
cum illi edi-
derit vige-
nitū: nec non
matrem fu-
turam vera
vita, & per
hoc longè me-
lioris quàm
Heua: quan-
doquidem fi-
cus Adamus,
ita et Heua,
in animâ est
ficta viven-
tem: at Ma-
ria sicut &
Christus, in
spiritum est
electa vni-
cantem. Vnde
& mater, ne-
dum dicitur,
vita, sed gra-
tia et dilecti-
onis pulchra:
sicut et de illâ
sacra canit
Ecclesia. Ia-
cobus Nacla-
tus Episcopus
Clugienfis in
scripturâ me-
dulla sel. 37.
p. g. 1 b.*

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* Compare these & the like eiaculatorie hymns with the eiaculations of heathen Orators and Poets. chap. 20.

* *Quorum praecepto subditur,
Salus & languor omnium;
Sanate agros moribus,
Nos reddentes virtutibus.*

*By whose decree all like or pine;
To soule-sicke Patients health resigne;
And unto Vertue vs incline.*

But more sacrilegious by much is that Hymne vnto S. Iohn, so well knowne and so common, that the notes for Plaine-song were taken out of it, (*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*) which we might haue just cause to mislike did not the syllables sound otherwise *extra dictionem* than in *dictione* they did.

* *Vid. Putean. in Mod. Pallade.*

* *Vt queant laxis Resonare fibris,
Mira gestorum Famuli tuorum;
Solve peccantis Labij reatum,
Sancte Iohannes.*

*That with free hearts thy servants may,
Thy wondrous Acts and prayse display;
From sinnefull lips guilt take away,
O Holy Saint Iohn.*

Did not such as first conceived or commonly vsed this song, intend to honour S. Iohn with the best kinde of worship that was in their breasts, when they desire their hearts and soules may be purified, to the end they might more clearly sound forth his prayse? Could the sweet Singer of *Israel* haue consecrated his best devotions in more solemne sort vnto God, then these words imply? In as much as wee never reade, that

communicated vnto Saints, by the Romish Church in seruice.

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that S. *Iohn* did either send downe fire from Heaven, or cause the mouths of these Priests of *Bell* to be stopt with haire and pitch; this is to me, and will be vnto the vnpartiall Reader, a better argument that this blessed Saint did never heare those or like prayers directed vnto him; than the *Romish* Church shall be able to bring, *That Saints deceased are* (ordinarily) acquainted with mens petitions or desires in particular. Yet vnto all these & many like we must expect no answer but one: but that wee may well expect should be a sound one and worthy the noting: *Est ergo notandum cum dicimus non deberi peti à sanctis, nisi ut orent pro nobis, nos non agere de verbis sed de sensu verborum.* It is to be noted (saith * *Bellarmino*) that when we affirme, it is not lawfull to request any more of the Saints, than that they would pray for vs, our meaning is not to be tryed by the words which wee vse; but by the sense and meaning of them.

* *Bellar. L. 1.
de Sanctis.
beat. cap. 17.*

2. They thinke they may safely vse these formes of words; *Saint Peter haue mercy on me, saue me, open me the gate of heaven, giue me health of bodie, patience, vertue, &c*: so they make this mentall or tacite construction, *saue me, or giue me this or that by thy prayers, by thy merits.* Are these the blessings then which they craue by his merits? If so, what neede is there to pray to God for them? For, if they be his by right of purchase, he may dispose of his owne at his pleasure. But what warrant haue they for this forme of prayer?

* *Nazianzene* so speakes in his funerrall Oration for S. *Cyprian*; and so doth the vniuersall Church in the hymnes to the blessed *Virgine*. The more vniuersall the practise hath beene, the more vniuersall should

* *Bellar. ibid.*

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the reformation be. For albeit every *Romanist* which useth the fore-mentioned prayers, should vse withall that *mentall expression* or tacite reservation of his own meaning (which *Bellarmino* commends vnto him as an Antidote) to the Saints and himselfe : yet for all this, he should truly and really dishonour God by verbally honouring the Saints with His glorious Attributes. Yea the deniall of reall honour to the Saints fully answerable to the *titles*, which he giues them, must needs be as true and reall a mockerie of them, as it would be to a Baron or Gentleman, if their Inferiours should thus petition the one ; *I beseech your Maiestie or excellencie*, that is, *your Lordship or Honour to heare me* ; or thus salute the other, *God blesse your Honour*, meaning *your Worship*.

3. But is it credible that either *Nazianzene*, or the *Romish Church* tooke that speech of *S. Paul* for their patterne, which *Iesuites* now vse (*post factum*) for their defence. *Paul* sayth of himselfe that he *saue some*, not as God, but by his ministry of preaching & praying. Where sayth *Paul* so? *Rom. 11. vers. 13, 14. I speake to you Gentiles in as much as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles ; I magnifie my office, if by any meanes I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might saue some of them* : and *1 Cor. 9. I am made all things to all men,* that I might at least saue some*. Durst *Bellarmino* or any of the *Romish Church* haue sung the former hymne in solemne service vnto *S. Paul*, or haue entyled him *Saviour* in their deuotions and religious prayers; vpon this warrant of his owne words? To haue entitled him *Saviour*, much more to haue prayed vnto him for *sa-ving-health*, had becne a great deale more inordinary

* 1 Cor. 9.
ver. 12.

construction, than to haue said *I am Pauls*, though that in his doctrine were to deuide Christ. The first sound of such sacrilegious congratulations in his eares, would haue rent his heart, and made him teare his clothes with greater indignation, than he did at the *Lycanians* idolatrous behaviour towards him when they tooke him for *Iupiter*. He had scene as plentifull fruites of his Apostolicall function, as any other had done. Yet all he ascribed or would permit to be ascribed vnto himselfe, was paine and trauaile; he was *συνεργος τω θεῷ*, a co-worker with God, who in the efficacy or encrease (to whose *doner* the worship of invocation is onely due) could haue no sharer. In respect of these neither was the externall worke, nor the visible workeman any thing.

4. But be it granted, for disputations sake, that the title of ministeriall or secondary *Saviour*, might well haue become *S. Paul*, whilest he trauailed in the Gospel: yet seeing the chiefe meanes he vsed for others safetie, was submission of his high calling to their frailtie, and symbolizing with their weakenesse; the excellencie of his ministeriall function or Apostolicall power, did not enlarge it selfe but rather expire by his dissolution. The ground of this our Assertion is so firmly laid by our Apostle himselfe, that, whiles the world stands, it shall never be shaken by any assault the *Romish* Church can make against it: nor shall any distinction which the *Iesuites* can frame, be ever able to vndermine the Conclusion which wee ground vpon it. Thus we argue: Had *S. Pauls* favour with God beene so mightily improoved by death, as they contend, and his affectionate notice of his followers ne-

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*Heb. 7.
ver. 25.

*Ioh. 16.
ver. 7.

cessities continued the same or greater; His speedie dissolution or departure to Christ had beene as expedient for the Churches which he planted, as for himselfe. For so (to vse the *Romish* language) they might haue had a patrone in the Court of Heaven, the vncessant intercession of whose effectuall prayers might haue procured pardon for their sinnes, and plentie of teachers to water what he had planted. But S. Paul hath expressly sayd it, and we must vndoubtedly beleue it, that to ** live for ever to make incession for vs*, is the essentiall prerogative of the vchangable Priesthood, the peculiar title of the everlasting Priest. ** It was expedient for his disciples that he should leaue them and goe to his Father, otherwise that Comforter would not haue come vnto them.* But it never was expedient for any Church or Congregation, to be deprived of their godly & faithfull Pastors bodily presence. The onely reason of this diversitie is, because Christ liues for ever, and hath an everlasting Priest-hood; whereas Saints and godly men which are departed this life, although they still liue vnto God, are, (touching intercession or other acts of their ministeriall function) dead to vs. Vpon these advantages we may here constrain Cardinall Bellarmine either to call in his vnanswerable argument (as he enstyles it) or to admit of that answer to it, which our Writers haue given: *Why the invocation of Saints should be unlawfull or unprofitable, no other reason can be alledged but either because they cannot heare the prayers which we make vnto them, or will not pray as heartily to God for vs, as they did when they lived, or are not in such favour with God to obtaine what they aske.* Bellar. l. 1. de Sancto ram beatitud. cap 19. I onely reply; if Saints de-

those cōpellations from vs, as they were whilest they liued.

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deceased can both heare our prayers, and be sooner heard of God for our good, which (as our Adversaries suppose) they still tender in particular so much the more then living here they did, as their charitie is encreased: it is expedient for the Church militant that the godliest and best Ministers die the soonest, and the fastest. For so of ordinary Pastors they may become more than Apostles, able to heare the prayers and undertake the patronage of many thousands, with whom they could neither haue commerce or conference while they liued in the flesh.

5. How vterly these men evacuate the eternitie of Christs Priesthood as well by continuing a successive multiplicitie of sacrificers to reiterate his everlasting sacrifice here on earth, as by joyning other everlasting intercessors with him, as his assistants in heaven, is an argument more directly pertinent to some Articles following in the Creede. My present observations must be limited by the references to the maine conclusion intended. [*That the Romish Church in her publicke Liturgie, doth often giue therealtie of Christs soveraigne titles, sometimes the very titles themselves vnto Saints, sometimes leaning not so great difference betweene the diuine Maiestie or glorious Trinitie and other cælestiall inhabitants, as the Heathens did betwixt their greater and lesser Gods, or as we do between ordinary Princes and their subiects.*] Tyburne or Bedlam would quickly take order with him, that would seeke, or suffer an act of the prerogative royall (as granting of pardons, creation of Barons, calling of Parliaments) to passe joyntly in the name of the Kings Maiestie, of the Queenes or Princes, & in the name of all the officers of the Court

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and Common-wealth, descending as low as Bayliffes, Constables, Church-wardens, and Tythingmen. And the Pope would take it as an hereticall diminution of his plenary power, if every Bishop should receive his Pall, every sinner his *indulgence*, every soule in Purgatory her dismissal, in his *Holines* name, and in the name of all his *Cardinalls, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*. Yet in the translation of a Christian soule from this life to a better; after they have directed their supplications to all the severall orders of Saints for their intercession with God; in the very agony of death they draw their safe conducts in this forme:

" Depart out of this world in the name of God the Father
 " Almighty, who hath created thee; in the name of Iesus
 " Christ the sonne of God, who suffered for thee; in the
 " name of the holy Ghost, who was poured forth upon thee;
 " in the name of Angells and A changells; in the name of
 " thrones and dominations; in the name of principalities &
 " powers; in the name of Cherubims and Seraphims; in
 " the name of Patriarckes and Prophets; in the name of
 " holy Apostles and Evangelists; in the name of holy Mar-
 " tyrs and Confessors; in the name of holy Monkes and
 " Eremites; in the name of Virgins, and of all Gods Saints
 " and Saintesses. This day let thy soule be in peace and thy
 " habitation in holy Sion*. If thus they pray with their
 lips onely, they mocke God as well as the Saints. If
 thus they pray with internall affection of heart and
 spirit, they really worship Saints with the selfe same
 honour, wherewith they honour God. Nor is it cre-
 dible, they doe intend, or possible (though intended)
 they should in one and the same prayer or continued
 supplication, produce the like change in the affecti-

ons

* Breviarium
 Roman. de
 ordine com-
 mendationis
 anime Deo.

those cōpellations from vs, as they were whilest they lived.

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ons of their heart and spirit, as an Organist doth in Musicke by changing the *stoppes*. Or though they could produce the like change in every severall ejaculation, yet the *honour* wherewith they *honour* God and the Saints, should continue still of the same kind, and differ onely in degree or modulation. Or might they not with lesse impietie admit a Christian soule into the Church militant, than translate it into the Church triumphant in other names besides the Trinitie? They might better baptize them, onely in the name of God the Father, and of S. *Francis*, S. *Bennet*, and S. *Dominicke*, &c. without any mention of God the sonne and holy Ghost, rather than joyne these as commissioners with them, in dismissing soules out of their bodies. To censure this part of their Liturgie as it deserues, it is no prayer but a charme, conceived out of the dregs and reliques of Heathenish Idolatrie, which cannot be brought forth but in blasphemie, nor be applyed to any sicke soule without force-ry.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Proouing by manifest instances and confessed matters of fact, that the Romish Church doth really exhibit diuers parts of that honour or worship vnto Saints, which by her confession is onely due vnto God. That her nice distinctions of Dulia and Latria, or the like, argue no difference at all in the reallitie or substance of the Worship, but (at the most) diuers respects of one and the same Worship.

I.  He more vpon these occasions I looke into the *Romane Liturgie*, the more I am enforst to commend the *Heathen Philosophers* ingenuous reply to *Anaxarchus* sophisticall allegations, for honouring *Alexander* as a God.* I for my part (sayth *Callisthenes*) doe not thinke *Alexander* unworthy of any honour which is conuenient to be giuen to men. But the differences betwixt

* Equidem
Anaxarche,
Alexandrum
nullo plane
honore, qui
quidem ho-

minibus conuenia, indignum esse censeo. Caterum statuta sunt inter homines diuini & humani honoris discrimina; cum multis alijs rebus, tum Templorum exadificatione, & statuarum erectione. Djs enim delubra consecramus, ijsq; sacra facimus & libamus. Rursus hymni deorum sunt, laudes hominum sed non cum adoratione coniuncta. The Greeke is, (sed prae- cipue adorationis ritu.) Homines siquidem à saluantibus oscula dantur; eos ve. d edita loco positos ne contingi quidem fas est, ideo adoratione coluntur. Tripudia etiam salutationesq; djs fiunt & pannes cantantur. Neq; verò mirum id est, quum ex djs alijs alijs honores tribuan- tur, & quidem heroibus alijs etiam ipsi à diuinis honoribus diuersi. Non est igitur consentane- um haec omnia inter se confundere, neq; hominem nimis honoribus supra humanum modum extollere, & deo ad statum ab illorum dignitate alienum redigere, ut nimirum eodem quo homines cultu colantur. Neque enim pateretur Alexander privatum aliquem regios honores electione suffragisq; illegitimis usurpare. Multò itaq; iustius deos indignaturos, si quis mor- talium diuinos honores sibi arroget, aut ab alijs delatos justineat. *Arrianus de Expedit Alexan- dri. l. 4. pag. 86.*

Honour

were by the ingenuous Heathen proper onely vnto God.

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Honour humane and diuine are determined, as by many other things, so by the building of Temples, by the erection of Statues. Wee consecrate shrines and offer sacrifice and incense to the Gods: vnto the same Gods Hymnes are due, as prayes are to men. But the honour due to the Gods is specially differenced by the manner of adoration. Men are greeted with kisses; but the Gods are saluted with adoration, being placed so high that wee may not touch them. Vnto the Gods likewise wee expresse our ioyfull thanksgiving in solemne dances and songs. And no marvell, if the honour which we giue to Gods be distinguished from the honour which we giue to men, seeing diuers kinde of honours are allotted to diuers Gods. The honour given to Heroickes deceased differeth from honour truly diuine. It is therefore unfitting to confound these; unfitting to extoll men by lavish honour aboue humane state, or to coarctate the Gods vnto a state unfitting their dignitie, or to worship them after the same manner as wee doe men. Nor could Alexander himselfe be well pleased, if a private man should vsurpe royall titles by election, or unlawfull suffrages. Much more iustly will the Gods be moued with indignation, if any mortall man shall either arrogantly affect, or willingly accept diuine honours, though proffered by others.

2. Yet thinks the Romanist either God will not be angry, or els his anger may be quickly appeased with the mentall conception of former distinctions never vitred. Albeit they make the Virgin Mary Queene of Heaven and Mother of mercie, and bestow his other best titles (in hymnes or solemne service) vpon the Saints: it must suffice him that some few other parts of diuine honour mentioned by this Heathen, as offering of sacrifice, erection of Temples and Altars, are reserved onely

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onely to his Maiestie. These, by their own confession, are proper acts of that religious worship, which may not be communicated to any Saint or Angell; and so are vowes conceived in solemne and legall forme. Let vs see then how well their practises sute with their speculations in these points, and what neede the deuorions of vulgar breasts haue of sublimated braines to preferue them from the poyson of damnable and more than Heathenish Idolatrie. If I should aske one of them, What service is this you celebrate to day? Whose Church is this wherein you celebrate it? they would make no scruple to say the one was *S. Peters Church*, the other his *Masse*. If both Church and *Masse* doe beare his name, and be consecrated to his honour, may they not offer that vnto *S. Peter* which is *S. Peters*; and present him with a sacrifice vpon that Altar which beares his image and superscription? No: they may not offer a sacrifice, saue onely to God. But they may offer it vnto God in honour of *S. Peter*; or in testimony that *S. Peter* is the patron of that place, or of such as in it supplicate vnto him, or in token of their desire that his intercession for them might be accepted.

3. Or to gather the resolutions into such distinct tearmes, as yonger or weaker capacities may strike at their errors without iniury to the truth which they would make vs belecue doth vnderprop them: *Deus est unicus terminus, non unicus finis sacrificij oblatis*; God is the only party to whom the sacrifice is offered or solemne-ly presented, not the onely partie whose honour is by the offering or solemnitie intended. They haue as true an intention to honour *S. Peter* as to honour God, though
in

in a lower degree; and (for any construction I can make of their assertions) *S. Peters* honour though in it selfe lesse, is notwithstanding more specially and principally intended. So that by offering sacrifice vnto God onely, we may in some respects grant they honour God more than *S. Peter*, in others we must accuse them for honouring *S. Peter* more than God. For illustrating this collection, I will alter onely the matter and persons, not a whit of the forme of the Action or order of intention. The case is the same, as if some great Family or Corporation should tender the King a royall present in most submissiue and loyall manner, but petitiō withall to haue some favorite, whom they most affect, made Baron or Governor and Fee-farmer of the Citie or Territories which vnder his Maiestie they inhabite, reserving all rents and services, aunciently due out of the lands, vnto the Crowne; or ready, if neede were, a little to raise them. A wise King in this case would neede no spectacles to discerne the true reason of their professing more than ordinary loyaltie to his Highnesse, at this time and place, to haue bin their extraordinary affection vnto the partie whose *honour* they sought for their owne patronage; vnto whose coffers more gaine were likely to accrew for the *proprietie* of thereuenues granted, than could come to the Chequer from the Fee-farme or *Royaltie*. And the *Romanists* (I am perswaded) would be more ready to deride our simplicitie than to commend our charitie, if we could not suspect that *S. Peter* in *Rome*, *S. Dennis* in *Paris*, *S. James* in *Compostella*, the *Lady Marie* in *Loretto*, or other worse deservng *Saints* in the places wherof they are Patrons, in the Churches and
Temples

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Temples dedicated to their memorie, did not gaine a greater portion of the peoples hearts, and a truer propriety in their devotions, vnder the title of *Dulia*, than is reserved for the great King, vnder the title of *Latria*. If then we consider not the physicall *forme* of the sacrifice onely, but the end and circumstances of the whole service, they honour God with greater titles of Religion, but with lesse *realtie* of religious respect or affection, then they doe those Saints; whom they conceiue as their immediate Lords, their peculiar Patrons or especiall Benefactors. As for the *Sonne* of God, seeing they make him the matter of the offering wherewith they hope to induce his Father to grace the Saints, (by granting immunitie vnto themselues vnder their patronage and protection) they no way honour, but (as much as in them lies) disdignifie him in such solemnities. The indignitie offred by them vnto Christ, though for its measure much lesse, is in proportion much what the same, as if a saucie petitioner or dishonest supplicant, should seeke to worke the King to grant his petition for his owne gaine and his friends honour, by presenting his Maiestie with rarest Jewells of the Prince his onely Sonne, without his expresse consent, or vpon presumptuous hopes of his presumed approbation.

4. But let vs take their confession concerning the other points proposed in their owne language. We demand, whether *S. Peter* haue no better interest in the Churches & Altars that beare his name, of which his image hath taken possession, than he hath in the service that is celebrated in the one, or in the sacrifice that is offered vp on the other? Here such as joyne hands

hands and hearts in the repairing of the new *Babell*, are somewhat divided in their language. Some grant the tenor of his interest to be one & the same in both, and therefore make the same plea they did before, [That one Church is called *S. Peters*, another *S. Maries*, admits (in their doctrine) this exposition; *Both are dedicated vnto God, but the one in the name and memorie of S. Peter, the other of S. Marie*: or they are dedicated vnto God, to the end that they may use the intercession of *S. Peter* or *S. Marie* in that place]. As the Masse is called *S. Peters masse*, not that the sacrifice is offered vnto him, but vnto God, by way of thanksgiving for the grace bestowed on *S. Peter*, and *Peter* withall may be there prayed vnto as their Patron and Advocate with God*. This, sayth *Bellarmino*, is a godly exposition and conformable to the rites which the Church obserues in the consecration of Temples. For sometimes the Bishop, amongst the prayers belonging to such solemnities, professeth that he consecrateth the Temple *in honorem Dei, & nomen talis, vel talis Sancti*; to the honor of God and name of such a Saint: but directly to God under the title of *Latria*, to the memorie of the Saint under the title of *Dulia*. But *Bellarmino* foresaw, that their practise and forme of consecration, well examined, might be enforc'd to cōfesse more then this exposition implies; and vpon this foresight hath framed another more wary plea to our inditement: for whose better successe he had conceived his fourth proposition concerning the right vse or end of building Temples in these tearmes; *Sacræ domus non solum Deo sed etiam Sanctis, &c.* Sacred palaces or religious houses may be lawfully built and dedicated not onely to God but vnto Saints. To bring
in

* *Bellar. l. 3.
de beatitud.
Sanct. cap. 4.*

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in this conclusion in due place and order, not Fathers and Councells onely but holy Scriptures also must be wrested to countenance blasphemie; and blasphemie (having put on an impudent face vpon presumption of their warrant) must *man* in such heathenish Idolatrie, as not so guarded would blush or be affraid to appeare amongst Christian spectators. *Salomons* Temple (sayth he) was erected not onely to be an house of prayer or of sacrifices, but to be withall an habitation for the Arke, as *Dauids* intendment (1 Chron. 17. Psal. 132.) and *Salomons* accomplishing of it (2 Chron. 5. cap:) bare manifest record. This being proued which no man denyeth, he thus assumes: *The same or greater honor is due to the sacred reliques of Christ and his Saints, than vnto the Mosaicall Arke. Ergo, it is as lawfull to erect a Temple over the sepulcher of Christ, as over the Arke: and if over the sepulcher of Christ, then over the sepulcher of the Saints; for there is one and the same reason in all: they differ onely secundum magis & minus.* He
 “ addes withall, (lest the people should be too scrupu-
 “ lous) that vnder the name of sacred reliques he cō-
 “ prehends not only the bones or garments of Saints,
 “ but the places where they suffred, where they dwelt,
 “ or did any famous act; as *S. Cyprian* had two sacred
 “ houses erected to him, one where he suffred, another
 “ where his body lay. Nay such houses may be erected
 “ to Saints in any place; onely to preserue or inlarge
 “ their fame or memory, by retaining their Images or
 “ names, to the intent that such as enter into them
 “ being put in minde of their dutie by the image, or
 “ knowne name of the Temple, may remember Saint
 “ *Peter*, &c. and worship him in that place as their pa-
 “ tron, and pray to him.

5. He


5. He hath brought the point to this issue for vs ;
 Temples may not be erected to any besides God *formaliter*, they may be erected to Saints *materialiter*; that
 is, one and the selfe same *sacred house*, which is a true
 Temple, and wherein sacrifices are offered vp to God,
 may be erected in honor of this or that Saint, but not
 as it is a Temple. How then ? As it is a *sacred seat* or *re-*
ceptacle of the Saints bodie, or as a monument of his
 fame: as (that he may iustifie one impiety by another)
 one and the same stone is both an Altar and a Tomb-
 stone, or Sepulcher ; an Altar in as much as they offer
 sacrifice vpon it vnto God, a *Tombstone* or *Sepulcher*
 in as much as it covers the bodie of some Martyr. For
 (as he tells vs for our learning) all Altars are Sepul-
 chers or Tombstones of Saints. His finall resolution
 “ is, [As the same stone is rightly dedicated to this or
 “ that Saint, not in consideration that it is an Altar,
 “ but in consideration that it is a Sepulcher : so the
 “ same house, which is a Temple, is truely dedicated
 “ to the Saint ; *non sub ratione Templi, sed sub ratione*
 “ *Basilicæ* (not as a Temple but as a sacred Palace, for
 “ the Saint to rest or to be worshipped in). Now, as it
 “ would be plaine Idolatry to erect Altars to Saints,
 “ but no Idolatry to erect the same *stones* vnto them
 “ which are Altars: so it would be Idolatry to erect
 “ Temples to Saints, vnder this respect, that they are
 “ Temples; but no Idolatry to erect the same *houses*
 “ vnto them, which are Temples, not as they are Tem-
 “ ples, but as they are *sacred Palaces*]. Did the Masons
 or Carpenters, or such as set them a worke about a
 thousand yeare agoe, either lay the foundation, raise
 the walles, or put on the roofes of Temples, which
 V they

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they built to Saints, by the rule of this distinction? If they did not, they committed grosse Idolatry. And, for ought I can gather from *Bellarmines* Apologie, he makes no scruple to confesse that *Romane Catholiques* doe still commit Idolatry; all his care is to avert the imputation of committing this foule sinne *quatenus ipsum*, or *formally*, as it is Idolatry, that is, of polluting their soules with it by art and methode, or of begetting it by expresse concept of it's essentiall difference; with which none but the Schoolemen haue especiall acquaintance. Nor will I (for mine owne part) charge them thus deeply, for dedicating Temples vnto Saints. it sufficeth me to proue, that they are in this point plain down-right Idolaters. But I would gladly in the next place, be resolved how they can acquit themselves from the imputation of committing Idolatry *quatenus Idolatrie*, in *solemnizing Vowes* to Saints.

CHAPTER XXX.

Solempne Vowes are by confession of the Romish Church, parts of that worship, which her Advocates call Latria. The Romish Church doth worship Saints with solempne vowes, not by accident onely, but by direct intendment.

- I. T was a received doctrine in *Aquinas* his time, that Vowes were part of divine Worship, or *cultus latrie*. And whereas their custome of vowing obedience vnto Governors, might seeme to impeach them of giving that to men which belonged only to God: He di-
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vides vowes into their *matter* and *forme*; bequeathing the *former* part to glorified Saints and living men, the *latter* onely vnto God. This arbitrement *betwixt* God and *living men* (though such as the harlot, before *Salomon*, did plead for) likes* *Bellarmino* very well, because in vowing obedience to Prelates or Governours, men intend not to honour them but God. On the contrary, he that vowes a *fast* or *pilgrimage* vnto Saints; intends directly to honor them with religious worship. Vnto this part of *Aquinas* his arbitrement, *Bellarmino* will not subscribe. Because *Caetan* before him had condemned *Aquinas* his resolution out of the mouthes of preaching Fryars. For they, whilest they professe or promise the materiall part of their vow to men, tender the formall parts as directly to Saints as vnto God. *I vow to God, to S. Marie, and all the Saints, that I will faithfully obey my Governour.* *Caetans* answer to the difficultie proposed, is so slight that it seemeth he cared not much, if there had beene no practitioners in this kind, or that their practise might want Patrons. Somewhat notwithstanding he was to say for fashion sake. But his distinction is so acute, that indeed he denies any vowes or promises to be truely made vnto Saints; as they are reasonable creatures, or for their internal excellency.

* Lib. 3.
cap. 9. de
cultu Sanc-
torum.

2. *Bellarmino* to avoyd this scandall; avoucheth it as a generall agreement amongst all *Catholiques*, that they make promises as directly and truely vnto Saints as vnto God. For if it be lawfull to build sacred Halaces, to erect Sepulchers, and burne Lampes before them, why should it not be as lawfull to make solemn promises vnto them? Thus one impietic being allow-

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ed and admitted into their Church, must in charitie approue another. Now every promise that is made to God or Saints deceased, is a formall vow, as he very well declares; nor can the Church, by his acknowledgement, make the same plea in this case as in the former, that their vowes are directed only vnto God, though in memory and honor of the Saints; for they are terminated joyntly and directly vnto God, and to the Saints. Here (methinkes) they should invoke the ayde of some Saint or other, to vntie this knot, which he vainely thinkes will vntie it selfe, by the former distinction. The promise (saith he) is indeed one and the same, but is not made after one & the same manner: They bind themselues vnto God, in token of their thankfulness towards him as the fountaine of all good, and in recognition of blessings received from him, as from the first author of all things. And, by this apprehension or recognition, solemne promises made to him become *cultus latriæ*, proper acts of *diuine worship*. But they bind themselues vnto Saints onely in signe of their thankfulness towards them, as Mediators or Intercessors by whose fauour they receiue blessings from God; and this acknowledgement of their subordination vnto God, makes the same vow or solemne promise vnto them, to be but *cultus dulie*. But the question was, whether solemne vowes be not essentiall parts of *latriæ*, and if such they be (as most of their Church doe hold them to be:) no mentall respect or consideration of such as make, allow, or authorize them, can transforme them into *Cultus dulie*. Besides; the distinction is naught: this great Champion did either evidently misapply it to this difficultie,

difficultie, or els did much amisse, in not applying it to the former. For might he not as well haue sayd; *They erected Temples or offered sacrifice to Saints in signe of thankfulnessse to them,* as Mediators or Intercessors; but vnto God onely as to the first fountaine of blessings received.

3. "It is confessed by our adversaries that the name
" of *Vow* in sacred writ or dialect, alwayes imports a
" promise made to God, and yet they thinke it no I-
" dolatry to performe that religious service vnto
" Saints which the holy Spirit hath appropriated vn-
" to God; *because the Canon of Scripture was accompli-*
" *shed before the Custome of vowing vnto Saints began,*
(or rather the authoritie of it was abandoned by introduction of this custome, if not before.) This reply seemes to insinuate, that if Gods Spirit had committed ought to writing since vowes were enacted, as parts of religious worship due vnto Saints deceased, *He* would haue fitted his language to their custome. How ever, this answer takes but a part of our objection, though more by much than this *Goliath* was able to deale with. For we argue not onely from the vse of the *word* in Scripture, but from the reason, why it is so vsed. Now the reason why vowes in Scripture are appropriated vnto God, is because they are a more immediate and especiall part of his worship than sacrifices are. He that offered legall sacrifices of his Cattell or of the fruites of the earth, did thereby testifie his gratitude vnto God, as vnto the supreme Owner of these, and sole author of all other blessings: and as vnto him *which gaue man power to gather substance.* But he that vowed vnto the Lord, did acknowledge him to be the

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* See Psal.
50. ver. 7.
&c. and the
14.

* Rom. 12.
ver. 1.

searcher of the heart, the just avenger of perfidious negligence; the bountifull rewarder of fidelitie, and diligence in his service. Hence it was, that legall sacrifices, were oftimes the matter of religious vowes. The forme of religious worship or service and the immediate end of such sacrifices, was * performance of the vowes; whose neglect plentie of sacrifices could not recompence. But fidelitie in performance of what was lawfully vowed, did please God without the offering of sacrifice. And whether the vow were conceived out of gratitude vnto God for benefits past, or out of sorrow for sinne, or former ingratitude: the religious observance of it was a true part of that *living sacrifice or reasonable service*, which our * Apostle requires at our hands, as the patterne or prototypen of Leviticall offerings. May we then offer any part of our reasonable service to any other besides God, vnto whom onely his people were to offer legall sacrifices? The apprehension of greater excellency in God than in the Saints, can no more alter the *nature* of the *service*, than the different titles of the King and his Nobles doe alter the nature of the debt or tenor of the obligation, wherein we stand bound to *him* and *them* joyntly. Now *Romish Votaries* bind themselves by one and the same solemne act to God and the Saints *joyntly*. And is it possible that the performance of one and the same act, should be *Dulia* in respect of the one, and *Latria* in respect of the other? Rather, as sometimes it falls out, that one of meanest place may be principall creditor in bonds *joyntly* made to him and others: so in some cases, as in vowes of Virginitie solemnely made to God, and to the blessed Virgin *joyntly*; of
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pilgrimage to Saints (whom they conceiue as special patrons of those places) the Saints shall haue the principall interest in the *Votaries* affections.

4. The * Fathers in the second *Nicene* Councell, and others more auncient whose authoritie they pretended for establishing that abominable decree (as one of our Historians many yeares before *Luther* was borne, doth censure it;) concerning Image-worship, did divide Adoration into two parts, externall and internall.

1. The externall (as they describe it by note of submission or emphaticall expression of affection) they did assigne vnto Images.

2. The internall adoration or adoration in spirit, which they call *Latria*, they appropriated vnto God. And of this internall adoration or *Latria*, they make intercession or nuncupation of vowes essentiall parts. But *Bellarmino* after he had prooved by authoritie and reason, that solemne vowes are parts of *Latria*, and after he had given it vs for graunted by their whole Church, that the worship of *Latria* is proper onely vnto God; finally attempts to share this worship of *Latria* (which is a great deale more indivisible than was our Saviours garment) betwene God and his Saints. But sooner shall the *Iesuites* be able to teach an Art of dividing indivisibilities, or of setting vnitie at variance with it selfe, than to iustifie this *division*, or *sharing* of vowes betwixt God and his Saints. We shall be ready to iustifie and maintaine these inferences a

* Subdit statim Tharasius ex Anastasio. Quid enim aliud est, quam honoris alicui exhibiti veluti emphasis, adoratio? *Latria* vero nequaquam. Ac si dicat, id est adorare licet, quia adoratio est emphasis, hoc est, symbolum et signum interioris cultus, et submissionis; et tale signum imaginibus praebere potest: *Latriam* vero tribuere nequaquam licet. Nam cum hac sit seruitus in spiritu, et non in solo signo consistat, imagini soli, qua

non sentit, non potest exhiberi. Subiungit; Neq; etiam licebit $\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\omicron\delta\alpha\iota$ (nempe imagines) quod est propriè Deum adorare. Verbum enim $\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ deprecari, vota nuncupare, vel peragere significat: quod soli Deo fieri potest. Vnde ex lib. 2. de Adoratione. Disput. 8. c. 12. num 368.

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gainst them (if neede shall require, or occasion be offered) by logicall remonstrance. If the worship of *Latria*, and in particular the nuncupation of vows be proper onely vnto God, than he or they, or whosoever they be, every person to whom *Latria* or nuncupation of vows is solemnly tendred (either alone or ioyntly vnto God) is a God in their esteeme that so tender or make them. But the *Romane Catholicke* doth directly and solemnly offer his vows to *S. Dominicke*, *S. Francis*, and *S. Bennet*, &c. Therefore *S. Dominicke* in his divinitie is a God, *S. Francis* a God, *S. Bennet* a God; so is every Saint to whom he makes his vows ioyntly with God. To say they acknowledge the three persons in the blessed Trinitie to be a greater God than all or any of these persons mentioned, as it cannot excuse them from Idolatrie, though it were true; so neither can it in their divinitie be absolutely true, but onely in part. It is true in respect of the apprehension or esteeme of divine powers, which is seated onely in the braine, vntrue in respect of the esteeme or religious respect of divine powers, which is seated in the heart or affection.

CHAPTER XXXI.

That the apprehension of different excellencies in God and the Saints deceased, cannot prevent the contagion which mens soules are naturally apt to take, by making solempne prayers and vows ioyntly to God and to the Saints.

I.



ELIGION, as *Bellarmino* well observeth, consisteth not in the apprehension or speculative acknowledgement of excellencie in the partie worshipped, but in the
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the inclination of the will or affection. The former is, as the *warrant*, the latter as the *execution*. And as sentence may be often given, but not executed; so may this apprehension be in the vnderstanding without the inclination of the will or affection; as greatest school-men haue not beene alwayes deuoutest Saints. Or againe, as many things are *acted* vpon presumption of some custome, without iust or expresse warrant of law; so the inclination of the will (in which the nature of religious worship in their diuinitie consists) doth often prevent the distinct or right apprehension of the vnderstanding; as many things are often most affected, sometime or other by all of vs, which the vnderstanding seasonably consulted, would not esteeme the worthiest of our best affection. And is there any likelihood that he, which conceiues a vow in one and the same thought, and professeth it with one and the same breath, *ioyntly* to God, to the blessed Virgin, and to other Saints, should scholastically distinguish their severall excellencies or proper titles, and proportion the degrees of severall worships to them? The very termes whereby they expresse them as *Latria*, *Dulia*, *Hyperdulia*, argue onely difference in the apprehension of the obiekt; no diversitie of internall habits or graces in the heart; much lesse diverse inclinations of the will, or elevations of the mind and spirit, wherein religious worship doth consist. Or admit the apprehension of Gods excellencies and the Saints were alwayes expresse and distinct, and had severall degrees or rankes of internall affection, exactly proportioned vnto them, and expressly intended in the *conception* or first profession of the Vow; it is no way credible, that
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our speculative conceits or apprehensions of the understanding should carry their correspondent affections so leuell and paralell in the practise or performance, as they should not intermingle, or one *crasse* another. We see in other cases of common life, wherein the danger in all likelihood is much lesse, how quickly our affections flag in pursuite of those marks, whereto our soaring contemplations did first direct them. No mans heart in his first ayme is set on money for it selfe, but as it is the *viaticum* to some better end. And yet how rare a thing is it, to see a man much acquainted with this mettall, not to affect it as his God, to whose service he consecrates his best intentions? True felicitie is the center whereto all our thoughts doe naturally sway, but most mens cogitations, are v-sually drencht in the dregges of misery and basenesse, being drawne awry or pulled downe by the contagious filth which their senses haue sucked in from too much familiaritie with their naturall obiects.

2. And shall not the affectionate apprehension of such excellency as these men ascribe vnto Saints whom they conceit as liue spectators of their inward thoughts and outward carriage, get much greater attractive force, than gold or pearle can haue over their soules; these being daily powred out vnto them in prayers, in vowes, and other inticing issues of devotion? Especially, seeing their worship of what kinde soever, is not intended onely as a meane or passage to the worship of God, but as the marke or scope of that religious affection, which they call *Dulix*. Or admitting there were a twofold affection or inclination of the will, (as they imagine) it were impossible that
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this inferior one which they call *Dulia* seizing so heartily vpon the Saints, should not interrupt the others flight towards God, and misperswade men that his worship did consist in devotion towards them; as men are drawne as it were in a dreame to thinke felicitie is seated in those meanes which are subordinate and subservient to it. Finally it would so fall out in this case especially, as by corruptiō of nature it generally doth in others: *Communia negliguntur*, The common good though most magnified is most neglected: and, *Qui multis benefacit, a nemine gratiam reportat*, Publicke benefactors, though their bountie extend in large measure to each particular, are lesse remembred or respected, than such as gratifie vs in our priuate superfluous desires, though perhaps to the preiudice of others necessities. Thus, howsoever the divine excellencie, as well in respect of it selfe, as of the benefits flowing from it to all mankind, might still be most admired in every mans speculative apprehension or conceipt; yet in as much as he is good to all without respect of persons, few or none will respect him so much in their affections, as otherwise they would, if every one may haue his supposed private benefactors, or the inhabitants of severall places their peculiar patrons in heaven. The distinction of *Dulia* and *Latria*, though ministred fasting to such as vow fasts or pilgrimages vnto Saints, will not purge their hearts (especially if they be rude and illiterate) from that grosse humor which *Tullie* observed in the *Alabandenses*, or * *Cominens* in the Inhabitants of *Paxia*. If such as builded them Cities or endowed their Churches with lands, may haue their Images curiously wrought and adorned to be daily saluted with
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* See Section. 3.
cap. 16.

Sectio. 4.

* Wisd. 14.

* Sic apud ipsos legitur: Romani veteres nescio quem Summanum, cui nocturna fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam Iovem, ad quem diurna fulmina pertinebant. Sed postquam Ioui templum insigne ac sublime constructum est, propter adis dignitatem sic ad eum multitudo confluit, ut vix inveniantur, qui Summani nomen, quod audire iam non potest, se saltem legisse meminerit. Aug. lib. 4. de Civitate Dei. cap. 23.

the same outward signes of submission which they tender vnto God or Christ: the * Wise-mans observatiō is not out of date in respect of these latter dayes. And S. * *Augustine* tells vs, that the crection of a stately Temple vnto *Iupiter* eclipsed the honour of *Summanus*, who had beene held the more honourable God before.

CHAPTER. XXXII.

A paralell betweene the affectionate zeale which the Iewes did beare vnto Moses and his writings, and the like zeale which the Romanist beares vnto saints deceased, and their Legends. That the Romanists zeale is obnoxious to greater hazard of miscarriage, and the miscarriage of his affection more dangerous by his daily practise of worshipping Images.



I Hether Images of the Godhead, of the Trinitie, or of the severall persons, of Angels or other invisible substances may be lawfully made, whether of these or other Images any lawful, profitable or pious vse be granted to Christians, which was denyed vnto the Iewes; are parcels of that maine *Question*, Whether the second Commandement according to our division were morall or ceremoniall; of which (if God permit) in the exposition of the Decalogue. In the meane time it is to vs, it ought to be to the whole Catholicke Church, a great presumption that the Commandement is one and the same to both *Iew* and *Gentile*, of as great authority

thoritie now as ever, in that the primitive Church did not recenter vpon this auncient libertie, if at any time it had beene free to bow downe to graven Images, to adore the pictures of Gods appearances or of men deceased. The vse of Images in Churches or sacred Lurgies was held so incompatible with Christian worship of God in spirit and truth; that when *Adrian* intended to honour Christ as a God, he commaunded Temples to be erected without Images. But his good purpose wanting effect, the Temples so erected did beare his name not Christs, or any other Gods, as wanting Images to take possession of them. And not their names onely, but their reuenues might quickly Escheate vnto the Emperour, without some visible patron to lay some claime vnto them. *Varroes* testimony ratifies the Wise mans observation in *Rome-heathen*, and *Lampridius* in *Rome-Christian*. Whether we begin our accompt from the Law of Nature amongst the Nations, or from the promulgation of the Gospell, *Images were not from the beginning. Wisedome 14. ver. 12.* But after the Church which during the time of her infancy had kept her virginie vnspotted, began in her full age to play the harlot in vowing, in praying, in erecting Altars and Temples to Saints; the instinct of her impurity did lead her to vse *Images*, as secular wantons doe lascivious pictures for provoking lust. They were rather the fewell, than the beginning or first kindling of *Rome-Christians* spirituall whoredome. Her down-fall into these dregs of Idolatrie or soule acts of more than brutish bestialitie, was the iust reward of her wantonnesse with the Saints. after shee had beene betrothed to Christ. That which
shee

Sectio.4. shee fallſely pretends for her excuse, is vſually true of ſecular adulterers or adultereſſes. Theſe for the moſt part delight in pictures for their prototypons ſake, with whoſe liue beautie they haue beene taken. And yet many deprived of their Minions reall preſence by death or other ſeparation, haue been ſo beſotted with doting loue of their reſemblances, as to loath the company of their lawfull Conſorts. Howbeit no vnchaſt doting lover did ever tye his fancie with ſo many loueknotts vnto his Miſtris picture, as the *Romanist* doth his ſoule and ſpirit vnto the Images which he adores. The maine bond, is Religion it ſelfe, the leſſer cordes are kiſſing, bowing, kneeling, imbracements, and powring forth his very heart before them. Beſides all theſe, he ſuffers this peculiar diſadvantage in reſpect of ſecular doteards; theſe cōmonly haue ſcene their feature whoſe true reſemblances they ioy in; the *Romanist* never had any acquaintance by ſight or other ſenſe, with the perſons of thoſe Saints, vnto whoſe Images he makes all this loue; but frames theſe materiall and viſible representations of them out of his owne braine or fancie. Theſe and the like circumſtances, were they duely examined by the rules of true Philoſophie or knowne experiment, how quickly the purſuite of ordinary meanes doth in moſt caſes alienate our deſires from the end vnto which we ſeek to be directed by them; it would appeare to be without the compaſſe of any morall poſſibilitie, that the Images which theſe men make their viſible ſpokeſmen vnto the Saints, ſhould not play falſe with both parties, and betroth the ſoules of doating ſuiters vnto themſelues, or rather vnto the devill, whoſe *ſtales* indeede they are.

2. But

2. " But what if some honestly minded vnderstan-
" ding *Papist* should solemnely sweare vnto me, that
" he loues *S. Peter*, not his Image; or *S. Peter* him-
" selfe much better than the Image which he loues
" onely for his sake: shall not his religious oath be ta-
" ken before any mans coniecture, concerning his
" owne affections? Can any search his heart better
" than his owne spirit can? I will in charitie belecue,
that he speakes and sweares as he verily thinkes and
is perswaded. But if out of like Christian charitie,
(though not towards me, yet towards himselfe) he
will giue me leaue to vnfold some practique fallacies,
with which his sceptrique Catechizers seldome med-
dle; I shall giue him iust reason to mistrust his owne
thoughts or perswasions, as altogether groundlesse,
and vncapable of any solid truth. Can the most devout
Franciscan or *Benedictine*, conceipt either the truth or
fervency of his loue vnto *S. Francis* or *S. Bennet*, more
strongly than the latter *Jewes* did the integrity of their
zeale to *Moses*? For that *Moses* sake which they had
made vnto themselues, they would haue died with
greater patience, than a Fryer could suffer imprison-
ment for *S. Francis*. But from the true *Moses* and his
doctrine no Heathen vnder the *Sunne* were so farre
alienated in affection as were his successors in place,
and kinsmen according to the flesh, the sonnes of *Aa-
ron* and *Levi*. To haue enstamped their soules and af-
fections with his true and lively Image (whereto a-
lone so great loue might be safely tendered,) the one-
ly way had beene to haue layd his sacred rules vnto
their hearts; to haue worshipped God in spirit and in
truth as he did. Quite contrary, they fastned their
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proud affections vnto that false picture or Image of *Moses* which had surprised their humorous fancies, before they had seriously consulted their hearts, or examined their imaginations by the rules of his doctrine.

3. And whether wee speake of Adultery carnall or spirituall, the first acts of both are alwayes committed within vs ; betweene the fancie or imagination and the corrupt humor which sets it a working: every predominant humor or corruption of the heart, delights to haue its picture drawne in the braine. The fancie is as a shop of devises, to adorne it ; and so adorned, it growes mad with loue of its owne representation ; as *Narcissus* did with his shadowe. Thus corruption of heart and humorous fancie pollute each other, before they can be polluted by any externall consort : whose vse is onely to accomplish the delight conceived, or to confirme this internall combination, betweene the *heart* and the *braine* ; and this service every visible or sensible object well suited to delightfull fancies, succesfully performes. As imagine the *Iewes* might haue had some gaudie picture of *Moses* in the Temple, wherevnto they might haue made daily profession of their loue, by *kissing*, *kneeling*, and other like tokens, which the *Romanists* vse vnto the reliques and Images of every supposed Saint: how would this practise haue fortified their foolish imaginations? every kisse bestowed vpon his picture would haue beene as a wedding ring or visible sacrament, for confirming the internall league betweene their corrupt affections & humorous fancies. But Image-worship was a brood of impietie so base and vgly, that the devill durst not
so

so much as mention the match betweene it and the latter Synagogue ; though he haue espoused the moderne *Romish Church* vnto it. Howbeit (so inevitable are his entisements, vnlesse we abandon all familiaritie with his visible baites, when we come to doe our homage to God) he hath stollen away the *Jewes* hearts from God and his servant *Moses*, by drawing them to such dalliance with the booke of the Law, as the *Papists* vse with the pictures of Saints. Kissing and solemne adoration of *Moses* his writings, vpon no other occasion than for testification of their allegiance to God by reverencing them ; are held no acts of wantonnesse, no whorish tricks, by the faithlesse Synagogue. And to speake the truth, her protestations of chaste and loyall loue to God and his servant *Moses*, will sway more with every indifferent arbitrator, than any oath or other assurance which the *Romish church* can make of her fidelitie to Christ, or sincere respect to those Saints, whose liuelesse Images shee adores with no lesse devotion, than the *Jew* doth the dead letter of the Law. For, though no protestation may be taken against a fact ; yet the fact is more apparantly idolatrous in the *Romanist*, in as much as bowing down to carved Images, kissing or worshipping them, are expressely forbidden by *Moses* his Law, as acts of open and palpable adultery. The last and most miserable *sanctuary*, whereto these malefactors closely pursued are glad to betake themselves, is, That this commandement, *Thou shalt not bow downe to them*, was meerely ceremoniall, and concerned the *Jewes* onely, not Christians. Our Saviours manifestation in the flesh hath manifested the Synagogues pretended loue

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to God and his Law, to haue beene but carnall, false and idolatrous, being indeede a loue onely of their owne humorous superstitious fancies. Now the symptoms and signes, subsequent as well as antecedent, being the same in the *Romish* Church, sufficiently testifie her disease to be the same, but more dangerous, because it is *morbis complicatus*. Her whole Religion, wee may without offence to God, or wrong to it, though not without some distast to her children, fitly define to be a mixture or complication of Iewish vaine-glorious delight in worthy Auncestors, and of Heathenish grosse and palpable superstitious worship of their images, in whose memorie shee so delights. The brasen Legendaries by how much more they are in other cases vncapable of any trust, yeeld vs so much greater plentie of canonically prooffe for evincing the truth of this definition or observation concerning the originall matter of *Rome-Christians* disease. So great is the multitude of her Saints, so prodigious are the manifold miracles wherewith shee graceth every Saint in particular whilest he lived, or his image after his death, and all avouched with such confidence; that if the old *Roman* which cut a whetstone in pieces with his penknife, were to arbitrate betweene the Legendaries, the latter Iewish Rabbines, and the Poeticall Encomiasts of heathen Gods or Heroikes, and were bound to reward every one according to his deserts, he could not bestowe lesse than nine parts of ten vpon the Legendaries. The symptoms notwithstanding of this vanitie, hath beene perpetuall cruelty, as well in the *Romanist* as in the *Iew*. The distempered zeale which the one bare vnto a *Moses* of his owne making and

magnification, did empoison his soule with deadly hate of the true *prototypon* exhibited in presence of life, and of his Disciples, which were the liue Images of *Moses* and *Abraham*, *Abrahams* sonnes as truely by reall likenesse of holy life, as by descent of bodie. The flames of the others wild and ill-kindled loue to such dead Images of Christ and his Saints, as he hath fashioned to please his fancie, hath caused his stonie heart to boyle over with vnstaunchable bloudie malice against the liue-images of Christ, and truest successors of his Saints; against all within these thousand yeares that would not run a whoring with them after their imaginations. As *Antiochus Epiphanes* was an illustrious type of the *Romane Antichrist*, so his short and furious persecution of the Orthodoxall *Iewes*, was but a Map (though an exquisite one) of the Papacies continuall jealous rage against all that will not bow their knees vnto the Idols, or offer sacrifices vpon the Altars, which they haue erected to vnknowne Gods in holy Temples.

4. This carnall vaine-glorious loue whether vnto imaginary Patriarcks in the *Iew*, or to fancied Saints in the *Romanist*, did never swell so much in either, as when themselves were most vnlovely in the sight of God and his Saints. Both begunne to be most affected with their worthy Auncestors prayses, when themselves were least prayse-worthy. As it commonly falls out in other cases, from a secret instinct or working of hypocrisie, they sought to stuffe their fancies with imaginations of their holinesse, from whom they carnally descended: that as fresh colours bring some comfort to sore eyes, or gentle plaisters ease to festered

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* Libro de
Somno &
vigilia.

wounds; so the reflex of their Auncestors integritie vpon their hearts, might in some sort allay the smart of their galled consciences. And their consciences by this meanes finding ease, afterwarde being lulled asleepe with the continuall sweete sound of others prayles; they dreamed the substance of that holinesse to be rooted in their hearts, whose shadowe or representation floated in their braines: as the*Philosopher obserues that a drop of sweete Phlegme tickling the tast in slumber or light sleepe, makes men thinke they swallowe honey, or that they are gluttred with sweete meates. For wedging in this selfe-deceiving fancie, and perpetuating the pleasant phrensie whereinto the *Jew* and *Romanist* had cast themselues; the visible monuments of Prophets and Saints did the old serpent very great service. To embolden the *Jew* in cruell practises against our Saviour and his disciples, he could devise no fitter sophisme, than to employ them in adorning the tombes or other like testifications of loue vnto the Prophets reliques, whom their Fathers had slaine; being by this meanes perswaded that they loved the Prophets themselues and their doctrine much better than their Fathers had done; they could not easily mistrust their hate of our Saviour for vniust. For if he had beene a true Prophet, would not they which loved all other Prophets, and justified them before their fathers, haue loved him and maintained his doctrine? The conclusion of these Fallacious collections was, that from this vaine confidence or presumed freedome from guilt of their fathers sinnes, they came by degrees to make vp the full measure of them, in crucifying the *hope* of *Israel*. The like successe hath the

the same fallacie had over *Rome-Christian*: *shee* by adoring the Images and reliques, by lavish garnishing the monuments of those Saints, which *Rome-heathen* had persecuted with fire and sword, hath beene set over by the great Tempter to accomplish and consolidate that mystery of iniquitie, whose shape or surface the irreligious tyranny of *Rome-heathen*, had drawne in bloody lines. For mistaking this strong internall affection which *shee* bare vnto her owne fancie (and by consequent to Saints of her owne imagination, and to their reliques) for an vndoubted pledge of great zeale vnto that truth which they professed, her conscience became so seared with this wild-fire, that *shee* persecuted all that did controll her without remorse or scruple, as greater enemies to Religion, than Hereticks or Infidells. And thus the *Romanist*, as well as the *Jew*, by reiecting the written word for the rule of life, haue kindled the Almightyes wrath and indignation by those very sacrifices, which without his warrant, they instituted to appease it. Both of them presumed their zealous costs vpon Saints monuments, should either supererogate for their predecessors sins, or cleare all reckonings betweene God & themselves, for any wrong done to his servants. This triumphant confidence in exercising remorselesse crueltie vpon all (without exception) that contradict her idolatrous doctrine, vpon presumption that they are sacrilegious contemners of Gods Saints, is that which the Prophetickall Apostle termes *drunkenesse with the bloud of Saints*: *shee* hath drunke so deepe of the cup of abominations, that *shee* takes bloud for milke, and feedes on it, as on the foode of life. Thus much of the originall, the effect

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and Symptomes of Romish Phreneticall zeale to Images.

CHAPTER. XXXIII.

By what means the publicke worship of Images was finally ratified in the Romish Church. Of the unadvised instructions which Gregory the Great gave unto Augustine the Monke for winning the Pagan-English to the profession of Christianitie.

* See the second tome of Homilies, pag. 32, 34.

* Phocas igitur, ut praemissum est, exincto Mauratio eiusque filijs, Romanorum regnum inuadit. Per octo annorum curricula principatus est. Hic, ro-

gante Papa Bonifacio, statuit sedem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ut caput esset omnium Ecclesiarum: quia Ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium Ecclesiarum scribebat. Idem, alio Papa Bonifacio petente, inuit in veteri san, quod Pantheon vocabatur, ablatis Idololatria sordibus, Ecclesiam beatæ semper virginis Mariæ, & omnium sanctorum martyrum fieri: ut ubi quondam omnium non Deorum, sed Daemoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria Sanctorum. Paulus Diacon. lib. 18 circa medium. Vide Forcat. lib. 1 pag. 33. It is likely Phocas did consecrate his Temple vpon the same motives, that Domitian did his to the Heathen Gods. Verisimile est Domitianum nefandis criminibus spurcatum elui curasse sanorum molitionibus. Nam callida fuit crudelitas, ut ut lenitatem tum maxime simularet, cum erat cruciaturus aliquos. Fratris quoque Titi Imperatoris mori accelerasse traditur, quo vno nihil clementius fuit, nihil generosius. Forcatulus. lib. 3. pag. 120.

age,

age, wherein this service was so detested by the whole seede of *Abraham*, or to sollicit professed Christians to adore his person immediately; seeing our Saviour had so foyled him in this attempt. His best policie to bring the visible Church to acknowledge this allegiance to him, was to appoint dumbe Images (with which he had beene so well acquainted in time of Gentilisme) his Feoffees in trust. If any inquire more particularly of the opportunities which he tooke for bringing this match about, they were in part these.

2. As in secular States we see those factions which haue beene expelled the Court with indignation at one gate, to winde themselves in againe by gracious favour of new alliance at another; especially after the impression of their vile practises in most mens memories be abated; or after Courtiers beginne (as within the compasse of one age they often do) to change the old fashion of contention: so, that *Image service* which the *primitiue* Church had abandoned as the Liturgie of hell, did, out of an affected desire in Christians to hold correspondencie or to symbolize with the Heathen Barbarians which had seated themselves throughout *Europe*, finde opportunitie to gaine readmission into Temples, to beare the same place and sway in the Courts of God, that they had done in the Synagogue of Satan. The execution of such instructions as *Gregory* the Great gaue vnto *Austine* the Monke for winning the Pagan-English vnto Christianitie, would in any indifferent Polititians judgement (that duely considers the estate wherein these western kingdomes then stode,) bring over Christians vnto Paganisme,

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*The use of holy waters as it seemes was first borrowed from the Heathens, and in process of time perverted from a civil to a magickall Ceremony. Feriens vulgo Tolofates Exuperium pro muris concionatem, lustrali aqua sparsos Vandalos terruisse ac fugasse, quod praeterire non potui, et si fenestras fabulis a numerem Plaudet constat veteres genere quodam caeremonia aquam & ignem adhibuisse, cum aliquos extrudere aut arcere volebant a suo consortio; unde exulibus aqua & igni interdicitur iure civili. & hoc e vsurpatur in ijs, quibus sacrorum communium usu ritè verbis conceptum interdicitur. Idq; adnotauit Seruius, alij fontemq; ignemq; terebant vel asilino, & verbenat tempora vineti. Itaq; Antistes inter commilitones non omnino Christi religione imbutos veterem ritum minime noxium ad arcendos hostes pro tempore retinuit. Forcatulus lib. 6. fol. 856.

or occasion these Converts to propagate a medley of both religions to their posterity, whole religion being conquerors was likely to continue longest. *Greg. l. 9. Ep. 71. Cum vero vos Deus omnipotens ad reverendissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum Episcopum produxerit; dicite ei quod diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi: viz. quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem Gente minime debeant; sed ipsam quae in eis sunt idola destruantur.* Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquia ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut à cultu demonum, in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, & Deum verum cognoscens & adorans, ad loca quae consuevit familiarius concurrat. Et quia boves solent in sacrificio Demonum multos occidere, debet etiam his hanc de re aliqua solennitas immutari: ut die dedicationis vel natalitio sanctorum Martyrum, quorum illic reliquia ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem Ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de Ramis arborum faciant, & religiosi convivis solennitatem celebrent. Nec Diabolo iam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, & Donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant; ut dum eis aliqui exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscindere impossibile esse non dubium est:*

quia

quia is qui locum summum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur. Sic Israelitico populo in Aegypto Dominus se quidem innotuit: sed tamen ei sacrificiorum usus quos Diabolo solebat exhibere, in cultu proprio reservavit; ut eis in sacrificia sua animalia immolare praeceperet: quatenus cor mutantes aliud de sacrificio amitteret, aliud retinerent: ut et si ipsa essent animalia quae offerre consueverant, verumtamen Deo haec & non Idolis immolantes, iam sacrificia ipsa non essent. Haec igitur dilectionem tuam praedicto fratri necesse est dicere, ut ipse in presenti illuc positus perpendat qualiter omnia debeat dispensare.

3. A great part (I dare avouch) of his advice had no patterne either in the Apostles doctrine or practise of the primitive Church. The warrant it selfe which he pretends from Gods example in the old Testament (though what was Gregory the Great if wee compare him with the Almighty, that he should vsurpe the same authoritie) is meere counterfeite. God did not onely permit the Jewes to offer sacrifice for the hardness of their hearts, but commaunded oblations as part of his service. He required them of Abraham, yea of Abel before the devill sought them of any heathens. Nor had he ever sought them vnlesse God had required them first: for the devill is Gods ape, and alwayes sollicites men either to institute such rites vnto him as he knowes God requires, or (which is an equivalent sinne) to obtrude such vnto God, as for the time present he hath abandoned. To haue offered such sacrifices (then) vnto that holy one, as Gregory there commands, had beene the same sinne (onely inverted) as to haue offered sacrifice, before Christs comming, vnto

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vnto Idols. And yet we may presume that *Gregorie* the Great, was not the most indiscreet reformer of Paganisme amongst all the Romane Bishops or Prelates throughout *Europe*, that lived during the time that those *Barbarians* invaded Christendome or settled themselves amongst auncient Christians. Nor did the peculiar disposition of the English draw him to permit greater libertie vnto them, than *he*, his predecessors, or successors either were enforced, or thought fit to grant vnto other Pagans, whose spirituall salvations they sought, or whose temporall Armes they feared. And somewhat, in both respects (I graunt) might lawfully be tolerated, which to continue after such extraordinary occasions ceased, was heresie in doctrine, and Idolatry in practise. For the retaining of those lawes as necessary iniunctions for all ages, which the Apostles had commended as expedient onely for late converted Gentiles, was by orthodoxall antiquity adjudged no lesse than an heresie in the sect of *Nazarens*. To haue suffered an historicall vse of Saints images in Temples, might, vpon peculiar circumstances of times haue argued religious discretion in Church governours: but to permit their daily worship, vpon these mentioned or like occasions, was from the beginning most vnexpedient and vnlawfull. To continue or authorize it so begun is Idololatrical. And yet as well the very arguments which some pretend for their religious vse, as the circumstances of the time wherein their broken *title* prevaild, perswads me they could never haue gotten readmission into the Church, but from such indulgence to Heathen Converts, as *Gregorie* graunted to our Forefathers.

Gregorie

Gregorie himsele as well blames their superstition for worshipping images in the Church, as *Serenus* for breaking the images, because they had beene worshipped. He aggravates his fault (nor doth that mistaken example of *Ezekia's* crushing the brasen serpent any way warrant the exercise of *Serenus* zeale) that he had his habitation amongst the Gentiles, *quibus pro lectione pictura est. Lib. 9. Epist. 11. & lib. 7. epist. 110.* But now that custome, by the analogie of lawes politique hath confirmed their auncient dignities vnto them; the lawfulnessse of their religious service is by their worshippers justified partly from reason, partly from instances of like practises, in the Patriarchs and other godly men.

CHAPTER XXXIIII.

Of the disagreements betwixt the Iesuites themselves in what manner Images may be worshipped.

I.  **B**ELLARMINE, and his second, *Sacrobo-*
cus, with most others of *Aquinas* his
latter followers, will haue the worship
or adoration to be terminated imme-
diately to the Image, and accom-
plished in this termination; although so terminated, it
redound vnto the honour of the partie whose image
it is. That is, (as they expresse themselves) *although*
they worship the image of God or a Saint onely with refe-
rence vnto God or the Saint; yet they neither worship the
image of God with the same worship, wherewith they
worship God immediately in spirit, nor the image of any
Saint,

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* Sacroboscus in defens.
Decret. Tri-
den. Concil.
& sentent.
Bellar. par. 1
pag. 102.

" Saint, with the same worship which they would exhibit
" to the Saint himselfe, were he present. This explicati-
" on they further illustrate by this similitude; As to
" be sent in Embassage by a King puts greater honor
" vpon the Embassadour for the time being, then
" would fit his meere personall worth, and yet invests
" him not with honour royall: so the Image of God,
" for the reference it hath vnto his Maiestie, is worthy
" of greater honor, than the stufte or workmanship is
" capable of, yet vncapable of that honour which is
" due to God. * Some of them adde withall that albeit
the actvall worship which they performe vnto the Image
may perhaps proceed from the same habit of Latria wher-
with they worship God: yet it doth not follow in their opi-
nion that they should worship the Image cultu Latrie. The
acts, whasoeuer the habit be, are much different and must
be exprest in diuerse termes; especially seeing in this sub-
iect not onely error it selfe but every least shew of error
ought with carefullnesse to be avoyded. *At in vitium ducit
culpa fuga, si caret arte.* Their vnscholasticke warinesse
to avoyde offence in the words, wherewith they ex-
presse their doctrine, drawes these factions and their
followers to commit reall Idolatrie in the practise,
as *Vasques* copiously and very acutely prooues against
Bellarmino. *Vasques lib. 2. Disp. 8. cap. 8. &c.* His ar-
guments we shall by Gods assistance be able to make
good against any solution or evasion that can be
brought by the Cardinalls favorites. *Sacroboſcus*
would faine haue said somewhat to them, but he had
so accustomed himselfe to play the scoffing mimicke
with the reverend Doctor *Whitaker*, that he could not
leauē his wonted lightnesse when he met with his fel-
low

low Iesuite. Hate and loue (sayth he) of diuers objects as of good and euill are from one and the same habit, and yet hate is not loue, nor loue hate. No more (in his opinion) would it follow, that we should worship Gods image *cultu latria*, albeit the act of worship proceed from the same habit, wherewith we worship God himselfe. The grounds of his illustration haue no coherence with the point which he intended to illustrate. We may rather thus retort; Though neither loue be hate nor hate loue; yet if the loue of any spirituall good be truly religious, the hate of the contrary euill must needs be religious likewise, because they proceede from one and the same habit of religion. So if the acts wherewith we worship Gods image, for the reference which it hath to him, proceed from the same habit of *Latria* wherewith we worship God: men must of necessitie worship the Image as well as God *cultu Latria*. The rules which *Bellarmino* and others set for worshipping Images, doe by *Vasques* his verdict teach the people to act Idolatrie. And the method which *Vasques* prescribes for ratification of this error, is by * *Sacroboscus* his testimony so scholasticke and hard, that ordinary capacities cannot follow it. Were it not the part of a wise religious moderator (such as the Pope professeth himselfe to be) to cut of all occasion of subtile disputes about the manner of worshipping Images, by vterly abandoning the matter it selfe or substance about which they contend: or at the least to inhibit the people from all practise in this kinde, till their Schoole-men could agree about the rules or patternes which they were to follow? None of them I thinke hold the worshipping of Images to be in it selfe

* *Verummodus iste valde difficilis est, meoq; iudicio minime ordinarius, Sacrobosc. loc. citat.*

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seife any necessary part of religion, but necessary onely from the Churches iniunction. All the generall that can be pretended for the conveniency of it, can no way countervail the danger that will necessarily ensue vpon the practicall mistakings of their Schoolmens prescripts: yet the one partie must of necessitie erre in prescribing the manner how Images must be worshipped. The manner as *Vasques* and some other more auncient thinke, is thus.

* *Quare & scite dicitur, quod utiq; adoratur imago, et non secundum quam volueris ratione, sed secundum eam, quia prototypon relucet in illa; unde et si imago colitur, ratio tamen absolute ipsa non est, quod colatur; sed res representata, et in*

* *It is rightly said, that even the Image is worshipped, and yet not worshipped after what manner we list, but in as much as the prototype is represented in it. Whence albeit the Image be worshipped, yet is not the Image it selfe the cause why it is worshipped, but the thing represented by it; and contained in it, is the cause or warrant of the adoration. And in as much as one of these is not altogether divided from the other, (for albeit the prototype be in it selfe one thing, and the image another, yet in as much as the prototype is conspicuous in the image, it is not segregated from it;) so the worship of them both is not divided, but is one and the same, as is apparant from the sentence of the ^a Philoso-*

*ea contenta, ratio adorationis est. Et quoniam sicut unum de facto non est diuisum ab alio, quoniam et si prototypon absolute aliud ab imagine est, ut tamen in ea emicat, ab illa segregatum non est: ita nec amborum diuisus est cultus aut adoratio, sed unus idemq; variusq; est, sicut ex Philosophorum placitis liquet. Si quidem tradunt unum eundemq; motum ad imaginem, & remanens imago est, terminari: eo quod & unum ratio est alteri, ut unus integerq; constitutur terminus a quo, & unus denominatur motus. Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in Ecclesia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad eandem forte loquuntur, sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo valueris scrupulo: quin & eo illam venerantur cultu, quo & prototypon eius; propter quod, si illud habet adorari latrā, et illa latrā si dulcia, vel hyperdulcia, et illa pariter eiusmodi cultu adoranda est. Iacob. Naclantus Episcopus Clugiensis in cap. 1. Ep. Pauli ad Rom. folio 41, 42. * Surely Aquinas and Naclantus with their followers read Aristotles booke de Somno & vigilia, when themselves were in a dreame. For he speaks onely of the Phantasmes, and the objects represented by them. Vide Mirandulam.*

phers.

phers. For they teach, that one and the same motion is terminated to the image, and to the object whose image it is, by reason the subordination betwixt them is such as to make but one entire Terme of the motion, and the motion takes its unitie or identitie from the unitie or identitie of its Terme. Therefore it must be granted, that faithfull people in the Church doe not onely worship before the image, as some, desirous perhaps to speake cautelously, affirme, but that they worship the very image without further scrupulositie: and worship it they doe with the selfe same worship wherewith they worship the prototype. Wherefore if the prototype be to be worshipped with Latria (as God is to be worshipped) the image must be worshipped with Latria. If the prototype be to be worshipped with Hyperdulia (as the blessed Virgine by their doctrine ought to be worshipped) the image likewise is to be worshipped with Hyperdulia. If the prototype be to be worshipped with Dulia (so ordinary Saints by their doctrine ought to be worshipped) the Image likewise must be worshipped with Dulia.

I have made his declaration somewhat more plaine in English than it is in Latine, and yet I thinke, if any English Romane Catholique should adventure to practise Image-worship by this Authors rule, he should finde *Sacrobofcus* his words before cited, true, *Modus iste valde difficilis est*, This manner of worshipping Images is very hard to be observed by the simple and ruder sort especially. But leaving this Bishop *Naclantus* and his declaration, to the censure of that * worthy and learned Author of the *Homilies* concerning the perill of Idolatry, (who I take it was a reverend Bishop;) the manner of worshipping images which he tooke vpon him to declare, as *Vasquez* (who hath most diligently read the

* But *Naclantus* bloweth forth his blasphemus Idolatrie, willing Images to be worshipped with the

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highest kind
of adorat. o
& worship:
and lest such
wholesome
doctrines
should lack
authoritie,

the divers Authors, and most accurately listed their severall opinions) telleth vs, was both very well knowne and very auncient, according to the antiquitie of *Image-worship* and Schoole Divinitie. His words with the Authors names avouched by him I have here set downe at large.

he groundeth it vpon *Aristotle* in his booke *de somno & vigilia*, that is, of sleeping and waking, as by his printed booke noted so in the margin is to be seene: whose impudent wickednesse and idolatrous iudgement, I have therefore more largely set forth, that yee may (as *Virgil* speaketh of *Sinon*) of one, know all these Image-worshippers and Idolaters, and vnderstand to what point in conclusion, the publicke having of Images in Temples and Churches hath brought vs: comparing the times and writings of *Gregorie* the first, with our dayes, and the blasphemies of such Idolaters, as this beast of *Belial* *Nacclantus* is. The 2. Tome of Homilies, folio 59.

Pervulgata et antiqua Theologorum sententia, quam ego veram existimo, est motum adorationis in imaginem, ita in eius prototypum, et exemplar transire, et utrumq; sub eandem venerationem cadere; ut nec sola cogitatione, imago per se sine illo, vel ab eo separata adorari possit: non solum quia necesse est propter exemplar, tanquam propter rationem remotam, sicut Legatum propter Regem, imaginem coli, sed quia qui imaginem adorat, in ea quoq; et per eam exemplar, ut terminum et materiam proximam adorationis, necessario venerari debet. Hanc sententiam, ex Theologis scholasticis tradiderunt Alex. 3. p. q. 30. m. 3. ar. 3. sect. 1. S. Thom. 3. p. q. 25. ar. 3, 4, 5. Caietanus et recentiores aliqui ibidem. Alber. in 3. d. 9. art. 4. Bonavent. eadem d. art. 1. q. 2. & q. 4. S. Thom. eadem d. q. 1. ar. 2. Ricard. ar. q. 2. & 3. Palud. q. 1. sect. Inquirendo tam de his. Capreol. q. 1. art. 1. conclus. 2. 3. art. 3. ad argumenta contra easdem conclusiones. Almain. q. 1. conclus. 5. Maior. 1. qui de cruce Christi dicit, non esse terminum adorationis secundum se, sed ratione exemplaris: idemq; de imagine dicere

dicere debet. Eandem sententiam secuti sunt Marsil. in 3. q. 8. art. 2. dub. 2. conclus. 3. Thom. Vuald. t. mo 3. c. 156. num. 6, 7. Ferrariens. 3. contra Gentes, cap. 120. sect. Circa latria adoraticnem. Sotus L. 2. de Iust. q. 4. art. 2. in fine, Turre cremata in cap. Venerabiles de consecrat. dict. 3. Antonius. 3. p. titulo 12. cap. 9. sect. 4. Hieronymus Angestus contra Lutherum cens. 10. ad. 3. obiectionem Hæreticorum, versiculo, Hic enim est colendi modus, & inter Compendiaria dignata. Clichtoveus in propugnaculo ecclesie. l. 1. cap. 10. Iacobus Paiua. l. 9. Orthodoxarum explanationum, sect. At Kemnitius. Franciscus Turrianus. l. 1. pro canonibus Apostolorum. cap. 25. & l. 3. de dogmaticis Characteribus satis ante medium; Alphonsus de Castro adversus hæreses, verbo, Adoratio. De cuius modo loquendi, atq; Almaini, qui fuit etiam Gregorij Magni, diximus disput. 6. huius lib. cap. 1. & in hac disputatione cap. 12. nonnihil dicemus. Vasquez. lib. 2. de Adoraticne, disput. 8. cap. 3.

2. This opinion concerning the manner of worshipping Images, he strongly proves, first by such counsells; secondly by such of the Fathers as favoured the worshipping of Images; 3^{ly}, by reasons effectuell in his judgement amongst all such as himselfe was, that is, *Romane Cathelickes*. For to worship them any other way is by his collections superstitious and idololatricall. His arguments are all reducible to this common principle; That albeit every act of justice be not an act of Religion, yet every act of Religion and adoration in particular, is an act of iustice. For adoration is but a serious rendring of religious honor vnto whom such honour is due. Now we cannot do iustice to any liuelesse or reasonlesse creature, although we consider

Sectio. 4.

Nulla res in-
anima aut
irrationalis
sine rationali
capax est
secundum se
honoris, cul-
tûs, & reve-
rentia, seu a-
dorationis;
sed imago res
irrationalis
& inanima,
quantumvis
ut imago, si-
ne exemplari
tamen confi-
deretur: ergo


it as the goods or possession of this or that man. A man may be wronged or disgraced in his goods or reasonlesse creatures, but they are altogether vncapable of right or wrong, of disgrace or respect. Nor was Tiberius his horse though considered as Tiberius his horse, more capable of a Consulship or of the honour due vnto a Consul, than any other reasonlesse creature in Rome was. For the same reason no reasonlesse or livelesse creature can in it selfe, though considered with its references, be capable of adoration. Whence Vasques acutely thus inferres; Every image however it be considered as an Image (whether it be of S. Peter, or of S. Paul) is still a livelesse creature, and therefore vncapable of any Adoration (of kneeling or bowing) save onely as it is coadored with the Saint, whose Image it is. The maior proposition, to wit, [No livelesse or reasonlesse creature is capable of adoration, but onely of coadoration with some reasonable creature] he demonstrates from the nature and definition of that act of Religion wherein adoration consists: and this act of Religion is a will or desire of exhibiting such note and signe of submission to any excel-

secundum se, sine exemplari non est capax adorationis & reverentia. In hac autem ratione, sola maior propositio explicatione indiget et confirmatione; ex qua, evidentè sequitur id, quod contendimus: ea videlicet ex natura et definitione actûs religionis, qui est adoratio, tradita in primo libro disputat. 1. cap. 4. demonstrari potest. Est enim voluntas exhibendi alicui excellenti notam & signum submissionis, excellentia ipsius debitum: Sic enim ex D. nasce ibidem ostendimus, adorationem innata submissionis consistere. Quare h. c. adorationis actus duobus constat & completur: signo videlicet externo, ut inclinatione corporis; et affectu illi respondente. Sicut autem signum externum indicat submissionis & servitutis affectum, sic animus, ex quo procedit, talis esse debet, ut vera et non ficta sit adoratio. Animus vero submissionis et servitutis erga illum solum versatur, quem quis apprehendit sibi superiores et excellentiâ præditum. Nam minori qui nulla ratione, ut maior, potest apprehendi, semetipsum subiicit; multo ergo minus creatura irrationalis et inanima. Qui enim ei notam exhibet et submissionis ex affectu illo vera servitutis erga illam secundum se, perversè ageret; essetq; abiectio animo: imo vero crimen, et genus quoddam superstitionis & idololatriæ committeret. Diceretur enim ex animo creatura irrationalis adorari. Secundum se servare, græcè λατρεύειν aut δαδρεύειν, ac proinde eam, ut excellentem sibi quæ superiorem, agnosceret. Vasques l. 2. Disput. 8. cap. 8

lent nature, as is due vnto the excellencie of it. Adoration it selfe consists and is accomplished in these two. First, in the externall signe (as bowing or inclination of the body). Secondly, in the internall affection answering to the signe. Now as the outward signe doth notifie an affection of submission and service: so the minde whence it proceeds ought to be so qualified that the Adoration be sincere, not faigned. And this sincere minde or unfaigned desire of notifying submission or service, can onely be placed upon him whom wee apprehend as our superiour, indued with some excellencie which wee want. For no man submits himselfe to any so far his inferiour, that he cannot be apprehended as his better: much lesse can any man subiect himselfe to a reasonlesse or liuelesse creature. He that should exhibite any note or signe of submission to such a creature out of any true affection or intention of submitting himselfe or doing service vnto it in it selfe considered, should not onely declare himselfe to be of a perverse and abiect minde, but should withall incurre the crime of superstition and Idolatrie.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The principall arguments which the Romanists vse to proue the worshipping of Images to be lawfull. What difference there is betweene kissing of the booke in solempne oaths, and the Romanists salutations of Images. That Image-worship cannot be warranted by Iacobs anointing the stone, or other ceremonies by him vsed.

- I.  Referring the discussion of Authorities alleged in favour or dislike of Image-worship, to the explication of that com-

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* Vasques.
lib. 2. disp. 6.
cap. 3.

* Vasques de
ador. lib. 3.
disp. 1. c. 2.
n. 8.

mandement wherein this controversie hath his proper seat: the onely reason either worth their paines to fortifie or ours to oppugne, is that generall one whereon *Vasques* grounds his Apologie for adoration of Images and reliques. And it is this; Every creature of God (seeing none are destitute of his presence, none without some print of his power,) may be adored in such a manner as he prescribes; * *Nulla est res mundi ex sententia Leontij, quem sæpius citavimus, quam sincere adorare non possumus; & in ipsa Deum.* & lib. 3. disp. 1. cap. 2. *Cum quælibet res mundi sit opus Dei, et in ea Deus continuò sit et operetur: facilius in ea ipsum cogitare possumus, quàm virum sanctum in veste &c.* There is nothing in the universall world which (by the opinion of *Leontius* often cited) wee may not sincerely adore, and God in it. And againe, Seeing every thing in the world is Gods handie worke, in which he continually resides and worketh, wee may with better facilitie consider God in it, than an holy man in his weed or garment. The same reason he further fortifies by this instance: * *Si enim Iacob Genes. 28. erexit lapidem in titulum unxitq; oleo, & per illum & in illo Deum adoravit, postquam eo loco mirabilem visionem in somnijs vidit, et ex pergefactus dixit; vere locus iste sanctus est; non quòd in eo loco aliquid sanctitatis esse putaret, sed quòd in eo loco sanctus Deus apparere dignatus est: cur quæso non poterit quisq; rectâ & sincerâ fide Deum in qualibet re intimè presentem considerans, in ipsâ & cum ipsâ adorare, & hoc animo sibi in titulum & recordationem erigere &c.* If *Iacob* did erect a stone for a monument, and annoint it with oyle; if in this monument so erected he adored God after he had seene a miraculous vision in that place; if upon his awaking he sayd; This place is truly holy, not that

that he thought there was any holinesse inherent in it, but because the holy Lord had there vouchsafed to appeare: why, I pray you, may not every man by faith sound and sincere consider God as intimately present in every thing that is, and adore God with it and in it, and with this intention make choice of what creature he list for a monument or remembrancer of Gods presence? * *Præterea creatura irrationalis et inanimata potest esse materia iuramenti, qui est actus religionis: ita ut dum per illam iuramus, nullam aliam in ipsa veritatem agnoscamus quam divinam, nec ipsam ut superiorem nobis, in testem vocemus, sed Deum cuius veritas in ipsa relucet. Idemq; dixit Dominus Math. 5. Nolite iurare per cælum, quia Dei thronus est, neq; per terram quia &c. quavis ergo creatura poterit esse materia adorationis, quæ non ad ipsam secundum se, sed ad Deum in illa terminetur. The reasonlesse and liuelesse creature may be the matter of an oath which is an act of Religion; so that whilest wee sweare by it, wee acknowledge no other truth in it besides the diuine truth: nor doe wee call the creature (by which wee sweare,) to witnesse, as if it were our superior, but God onely whose truth shines in it. And seeing our Saviour hath said as much in these words, Math. 5. Sweare not by the heavens, because it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, because it is his foote stoole: therefore every creature may be the matter of adoration which nevertheless is not directed or terminated to the creature as it is a creature, but vnto God in the creature. From these suppositions he elsewhere inferres, that as we may worship God in every creature wherein he is present, and coadore the creature with him, that is in his language exhibite signes of submission or reverence to it out of that internall adoration in spirit which we owe onely*

* Vasques i-
bid. n. 10.

Sectio. 4. vnto God: so men may worship S. Peter or S. Paul in
 their Images with *Dulia*, and coadore their Images
 with them with such externall signes of submission, as
 the internall worship of *Dulia* would outwardly ex-
 presse vnto them were they present. Many learned ex-
 positours are so farre from granting every creature to
 be the object of a lawfull oath, that they hold it vn-
 lawfull, vpon what occasion soever, to sweare by any.
 Yet besides the slipperinesse or questionable soliditie
 of his supposed ground, the frame of his inference
 from it is so concise and imperfect, that in stead of an
 answer we might without wrong dismiss it with this
 Item; *Goe and learne your message better and you shall
 haue audience.* But because it is a stranger in our coasts,
 and seemes to conceiue more than it well expresseth,
 we will allow it the benefit of an *Interpreter* to ac-
 quaint it with our customes. Now, might it be admit-
 ted into our courts of *Iustice*, I suppose it would plead
 that the *Romish* Church doth no otherwise divide her
 deuotions betweene God or his Saints and their Ima-
 ges, than we Protestants doe solemne oaths (which
 many of vs grant, as *Vasques* presumes, to be acts of re-
 ligious worship) betwixt God and the sacred booke
 which we kisse. For if we truely reverence it, for the
 relation which it hath to God, but with an inferiour
 kinde of reverence and submission, than wee owe to
 God; This will make strongly for that manner of I-
 mage-worship which *Bellarmino* and *Sacroboscus* com-
 mend to vs. Or, if out of that internall reverence and
 submission of minde which we beare onely towardes
 God, we deriue this outward signe of reverence to the
 booke, not that we acknowledge it in it selfe (though
 not

Ipsa igitur
 natura rerū
 et adorationis
 perspicue do-
 cet honorem
 exhibitum i-
 magini ne-
 cess-

not of it selfe) capable of any respect or submission of minde, but onely reverencing God in it, as in a visible and lively pledge of his presence; wee shall hardly be able to make any better plea for this solemne custome against the accusations of the *Anabaptists*, than *Vasques* hath done for kissing and saluting Images.

2. Few things are in colour more like to honey than sope or gall, though none more vnlike in tast. And these instances, though they may seeme to haue some similitude at first appearance, will vpon a more particular tryall easily appeare most dislike. First, if we speake of particular oaths given onely for satisfaction of men, they include or presuppose a religious profession of our allegiance vnto God; as to our supream Iudge: they are not such proper acts of his service, as supplications, thanksgivings, and solemne vowes are. The true end and vse of their institutions is to give satisfaction vnto men in cases wherein no asseveration will be taken for sufficient, such as is solemnly and deliberately conceived and vttered, as it were in the sight and presence of him, whom we acknowledge to be the searcher of all hearts, the supream Iudge of all controversies; and the avenger of all falshood and wrong. And, for this reason, solemne oaths are not to be administred by any but by those whom he termes gods. These iust occasions or necessity of taking oaths presupposed; the generall resolution or publicke injunction to sweare onely by the name of the true and everliving God, is an honour to him, because we hereby profeſſe our selues to be only his servants, and him to be the cleare fountaine of truth, the severe avenger of all falshood in deede, word or thought. But his ho-

Cap. 35.
cessario ad
ipsum primū
fontem, scili-
cet exemplar,
transire:
quare et ado-
rationem i-
maginis, sicut
etiam in-
strumentum per
res creatas,
et inanimas,
esse actum
vera religio-
nis, non qua-
tenus ad ip-
sas refertur
secundum se,
sed quatenus
ex affectu per
illas ad Deū
transit. *Vas-*
ques lib. 2.
De Adoratio-
ne. Disput. 8.
cap. 8. n. 366

Sectio.4.

nour would be no whit lesse, if the vse or necessitie of oaths amongst men were none; as in case every mans *yea* or *noy* were as good as his *affirmatiue* or *negatiue* oath; much better than his bond. But taking men as they are; to confirme every word vttered or promise made by them, with a solemne oath; would be a prophanation of his name, by whom they sweare; although they sweare or promise nothing but the truth. For it is one thing to sweare the truth, another to sweare in truth and judgement. This can never be performed without due obseruance of the end and occasion why oaths were instituted.

3. Far otherwise it is in supplications and thanksgivings; the more often and solemnly we prayse God or pray vnto him, the more we honour him; because these are direct and immediate acts of his service, not instituted to giue satisfaction vnto men but onely to glorifie his name, and to better our owne soules. Besides this difference in the *subiects* wherein they are v-
sed; the vse and end of Images in *Romish* deuotions, is altogether different from the vse or end of the *booke* in administration of oaths. The image is v-
sed by them as the *meane* or messenger for transporting deuotions or religious affections vnto God or the Saints, whose honour is principally and expressly aymed at, in their vnwildie ejaculations before stockes and stones; yet so, as the image is, in their intentions, a true sharer with the prototypon in such honour. We vse the *booke* onely as a complement of the civill act whereby we giue satisfaction vnto men, or as a visible remembrancer partly to by-standers or spectators, whose eyes by this meanes may become as true witnesses as their eares,
that

that such protestations haue beene made ; partly, vnto him that makes them, who will be more wary and circumspect what he avoucheth and protesteth, when he perceiues his speeches must be sealed with such remarkable circumstances, as they cannot but be often recalled to his owne and others memory. To the same end men of honourable place or calling, vse to lay their hands vpon their hearts, when they take a solemne oath: yet no man will thinke that they intend hereby to honour themselves, or to share with *him* by whose name they sweare ; although we grant oaths so taken to be true and proper acts of Religion or Gods service.

4. Nor doe such as sweare, or (at least) are thought to sweare by ordinary or obvious creatures, as, *by this bread, by this light*, intend the transmission of any peculiar honour by them to the creator. Nor can such attestations though in some cases, (for ought I conceiue) not vnlawfull, be in any case or vpon any occasions, more proper acts of diuine worship or service than other asseverations of truth are ; from which they differ not in nature but onely in degree of seriousness or vehemencie. There is in all men by nature a pronesse or desire to make them, vpon provocation or mistrust: which naturall pronesse may (perhaps) by religious discretion, be severed from that corruption of nature, wherewith even oaths expressely conceived in Gods name, are often polluted. Though the forme be not alwayes so expresse, the intent and meaning of such attestations may, for the most part, be the same with that which *Iosuah* vsed, *cap. 24. ver. 27. And Iosuah wrote these words in the booke of the Law of Gods and tooke*

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a great stone, and pitched it there under an Oake that was in the Sanctuarie of the Lord. And Iosuah said unto the people, Behold this stone shall be a witnesse unto vs; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he hath spoken with vs; it shall be therefore a witnesse against you, lest you deny your God.

* Vide Nac-
lanum epist.
ad Rom. cap.
x. loco citato.

5. Againe, it will be graunted but by a few of our writers (though *Vasques* take it for vnquestionable) that *Iacob* did truly worship the stone, but God alone presente lapide, as * some of his sect perswade themselves they honour God in the Images presence, not the Image. Of many expositions, to this purpose, I might make better vse against *Bellarmino* & *Sacroboscus* than I can against *Vasques*, who hath drawne the contro- versie about Image-worship to such a strait and narrow issue, that by pinching him too hard or too hastily in these passages, we may give him opportunity to brush vs off, or occasion him to stand at bay. Whereas if we give him leave to take his own course through them, he will quickly run himselfe so far out of breath, that we may easily overtake him on plain ground, or driue him into that net, out of which there is no possibility of evasion. Be it granted then (to this end, and no farther) that *Iacob* did not onely adore God presente lapide, but salute or adore the stone withall, in such a manner as *Vasques* would haue Images worshipped, together with their proutypens: will it hence follow that such as frame their deuotions by *Vasques* his rule, doe not transgresse the law of God, doe not remoue the bounds of the ancient, or commit no more Idolatrie than *Iacob* did? Their pretended warrant from this instance rather proues, that the devill wrought the Ra-

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missh Church vnto Idolatry by the same fallacy which seduced the Heathens, rude Pagans, or vneatechized Christians, vnto sorcery. For what professor of magickall secrets at this day is there, which cannot, which doth not pretend the like examples of Patriarkes or Prophets for their superstitious practises? As Satan is Gods ape; so Idolatry and sorcery, (the two principall parts of his service) haue their originall for the most part, from an apish imitation of some sacred actions, rites or ceremonies vled by Gods seruants. He is a counterfeit Lord, and his professed or domesticke seruants must be cloathed in such liveries, as may beare some counterfeit colour of Saints garments. The reason why most men slide more easily and farther into these two finnes, than into any other (without all suspicion of any danger, oftentimes with presumption of doing well) may be gathered; partly from the propertie of mans nature assigned by the Philosopher; partly from the Apostles character of the naturall man: *Qui non percipit quæ sunt spiritus Dei; who cannot perceiue matters of the spirit.* Man by nature is of all creatures most apt to imitate, and the naturall man most vnapt rightly to imitate or expresse the suggestions or motions of the Spirit, which cannot be otherwise than spiritually discerned; much lesse managed. Now he that hath no touch or sense of the spirit, must needs remaine altogether senselesse of his mistakings in imitating the spirit, wherein he glories no lesse; than apes doe in counterfeiting man.

6. In matters of secular civilitie or moralitie, many things well beleeue one man, which are very vncomely in another. Even in one and the same mans behavi-

our

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* Vide Nac-
lanum epist.
ad Rom. cap.
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mish

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6. In matters of secular civilitie or moralitie, many things well beleeue one man, which are very vncomely in another. Even in one and the same mans behavi-

our

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our or deportment, many things are decent and lawfull whiles they are drawne from him by speciall or rare occasions; whose vsuall practise, vpon dislike or no occasions, becomes (according to the nature of the subiect) ridiculous or dishonest. Now in *subiects* of highest nature, as in the service of God or matters spirituall; the least digression or declination from proposed patternes (though it be not so observable to common sense), is far more dangerous, than a greater error in moralitie; the precipitation once continued is irrecoverable. The best and most *Catholicke* remedie against the two fore-mentioned *Catholicke* mischieses, would be the serious observation of this generall rule: [*Such actions as haue beene managed by Gods spirit, suggested by secret instinct, or extracted by extraordinary and speciall occasions, are then onely lawful in others, when they are begotten by like occasions or brought forth by like impulsions.*] Their purposed or affected imitation is alwayes vnreasonable and preposterous, and, by continuall vse or custome, becomes magicall or Idololatricall. *Jonathan* did not sinne in taking an *Omen* (whether by the spirit of prophesing or by some inferior kinde of instinct) from his enemies *inuitations*. For another to attempt the *like enterprise by warrant of his example, vpon like speeches, would be a superstitious tempting of God; no better than a magicall sacrifice. The same observation will fit the prognostication of *Abrahams* servant, sent to bespeake his yong Master *Isaac* a wife, *Gen. 25.* * An *Italian* in latter times of greater spirit than meanes, going out to his worke with his axe, whilst a great Armie was passing by, comparing the hopelesse possibilities of his

* Vide Aug.
quaest. 62. in
Genes.

* Cottoniola.
vid. inter a-
lios Varce-
vicium in
Parall.

his present profession with the possible hopes of a martiall life; out of this doubtfull distast of his present estate, whose best solace was security from bodily dangers, frames a prelage vnto himselfe not much vnlike
 “ vnto that of *Ionathans*, and it was to throw vp his
 “ axe into an high tree, having conditioned with
 “ himselfe, that if it came downe againe, he would
 “ take it vp and follow his wonted trade; but if it
 “ should chance to hang in the boughs, he would
 “ seeke to raise himselfe and his familie by the warres;
 as afterward he strangely did: for he himselfe became
 so great a Commander, that *Sforza* his sonne, vpon
 the foundations which he had laid, did advance him-
 selfe to the Dukedome of *Millaine*. For every repining
 discontented peazant to put the forsaking or follow-
 ing of his wonted calling vnto the like casuall devo-
 lution, would be a tempting of God: to prognosticate
 the same successe, from experience of the like event;
 albeit he had opportunitie to try the conclusion, with
 the same axe, vpon the same tree, would be superstiti-
 ous: to rest confident in such perswasions, would be
 to settle vpon the dregs of sorcery. *Charles* the fift did
 once salute the *Spanish* shore, whereof he was, (vnder
 God,) the supreame Lord, in such an affectionate and
 prostrate manner, as his meanest vassall could not or-
 dinarily haue saluted either him, or it, without just im-
 putation of grosse Idolatry. And yet I should suspect
 him to be waywardly superstitious or superstitiously
 peevish, that would peremptorily condemne this his
 strange behaviour, of superstition, or censure it as ill
 be seeming so heroicall a spirit, for the present;
 though at other times it might haue seemed, not
 vaine

Sectio.4.

vaine or foolish onely, but *Apishly impious*. His late farewell to the warres and resignation of the Empire, his longing desire to giue solemne testimony of his loue to the *Spanish Nation*, his safe arrivall (after long absence and escapes of many dangers) in that soyle, many of whose sonnes had spent their liues in his service, and wherein he purposed to spend the rest of his life in the service of his God, in that soyle, vnto whose custody he then publickly bequeathed his bones, did extract these significant and extraordinary expressions of his extraordinary and swelling affection from him. And such expressions as are ridiculous or rather impious when they are affected or fashioned by forced affection, are alwayes pardonable, for the most part commendable, when they proceede from an vnexpected instinct or *unmasterable* impulsion. All extraordinary dispositions, as *loue, ioy, sorrow, or feare*, whether naturall or sacred, naturally desire a speedie vent, and that vent is fittest, which first presents it selfe without seeking. The suddaine motions wherewith such full passions seeke to expresse themselves, are vncapable of rule or method. To put the characters of ordinary complement or behaviour vpon them; breeds greater violence or incumbrance, than gyues or fetters to a man disposed to daunce, or manacles to one provoked to boysterous fight. And as the Sunne in his strength cannot directly ejaculate his beames vpon any body capable of heat and illumination, but others adioyning will be secondary participants of these qualities by reflection; so cannot our affections be strongly and intensiuely set vpon any object extraordinarily amiable or lovely, but some
rayes

rayes or branches of them will redouble vpon those sensible creatures which haue speciall affinity with it, though of themselues vncapable of any loue. Tender and endeared respects to mens persons, will alwayes leaue some touch of gratefull affection towardes the place wherein we haue enjoyed any memorable fruit of their presence. Thus *Andromache* bereft of her yong sonnes company, desires his garments to rest her vn-wildie affections vpon them. Nor dare I censure this her desire as vnlawfull, lest I should condemne the generation of the iust. For did not old *Jacob* expresse the tender affection which he bare to the sonne of his age whom he now never lookt to see againe, by kissing his coate? yet to haue hanged it vp about his bed or table, that it might receiue such salutatiōs evening and morning, or at every meale-time, might haue countenanced many branches of superstition. *Once and vse it not*, in most like cases is the true rule of discretion; continuall vse of that, which vpon all occasions is not vnlawfull, degenerates (no man knowes how) into abuse. God in his Law permits a kinde of ceremonious mourning for the dead, but prescribes a meane withall. So then to mourne is naturall; but to mourne continually, or to feed our griefe by artificiall representations, is superstitious.

7. To the instance of *Jacobs* worshipping the stone: the internall sense or touch of Gods extraordinary presence, inspired his breast with extraordinary passion. And to reflect or exonerate themselues vpon sensible circumstances, is altogether as naturall to the fulnesse of those affections which proceed from supernaturall causes, as to their fulnesse, whose causes are

Sectio.4. are meere naturall. The meere imitation of naturall motions is alwayes artificiall, never naturall. The imitation of such motions or externall actions, as naturally flow from supernaturall inspiration, is hypocriticall; artificially Sathanicall. Howbeit the *Romanist* cannot so properly be sayd to imitate, as to invert *Iacobs* behaviour, whiles he seekes to raise his affections by saluting or adoring Images, or to transmit the affection which he so raiseth, to God or the Saints by Images of his owne erection. This is in truth not to invoke but to conjure God or the Saints. The imitation (if so we call it) is as preposterous, as if a man should strue to prophesie or counterfeit visions by affecting to speake non-sence, because some Prophets in their visions haue beene raught beyond their senses. In fine, the scholasticke ape, while he exactly imitates his master Satan that sets him a worke, and his manner of worshipping God by Images, hath the same proportion to *Iacobs* worshipping (which he pretends for his warrant) that the voyces or motions of bodies assumed by wicked spirits, haue to the vitall motions or speeches of living men. The one moue themselves as the spirit which God hath implanted in them directs; the other suffer such motions as malignant spirits put vpon them. The old *Saracens* adoration of a stone, may with better probabilitie be justified by *Iacobs* example, than the vsuall worship of Images in the *Romish Church*.

8. Many passages in the Fathers though cruelly rackt by the *Romish Church*, will reach no further than the former instance in *Iacob*. *Adoration*, in many of their languages, is no more than decent salutation.


The

The phrales (as *Vasques* obserues) are with them indifferent, nor were they sollicitous in what termes they expressed these expressions of their love or reverence vnto those visible objects, which had affinitie with their extraordinary passions, or peculiar reference vnto God or Christ ; as knowing the respect, which they tendred, to be voide of superstition when it flowed only from abundance of internall affection, or was drawne from them vpon speciall impulsions. They did not affect submissiue salutation, or that emphaticall expression of their affections which they often vsed, as a part of religious dutie or daily worship, but as a point of decent behaviour. And decent behaviour doth change the subiect only, not alter its owne nature or forme, whiles it is vsed in matters sacred. Nor is the habit of civill complement or good manners such an unhallowed weed, as must be laid aside when we come into the *Sanctuarie*, or into places sometimes graced with their extraordinary presence, whom we reverence for their Religion and pietie. The vse or frequencie of it notwithstanding must be limited by iust analogie to the knowne or approved vse of it in matters civill.

Sectio.4.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Arguments drawne from Iacobs fact, and the like examples answered by Vasques himselfe in another case, and by the Analogie of civill discretion.

I. ith what secret ioy or exultation, the vndoubted sight of our Saviours sepulcher, of mount *Tabor*, or like sacred Monuments would feed my soule and spirit; or in what externall testifications the abundance of these internall dispositions would vent themselves, I cannot tell, vntill I haue iust occasion to trie them. But my heart (I am perswaded) should not afterward smite me much, if, vpon our first meeting, I saluted them in such a manner as did I daily repaire vnto them, with purpose to tender them the like salutations, or to invite the former affections or exultations by kissing or bowing to them, would convince my conscience of transferring the honour of God, to stockes and stones. The most learned amongst our Adversaries whiles they seeke to giue satisfaction to our obiections, are enforced, to acknowledge not onely the equitie of this libertie, which we grant, but the necessitie of the restraint (which to their preiudice) we make; from the authoritie of a story more canonicall with them then with vs. For *Mordecai* to haue bowed his knees to a mortall man was not (even in *Romish* glosses vpon Gods Lawes given to the *Iewes*) altogether vnlawfull. Nor did *Haman* desire to be adored *Cultu latriæ*, though some * *Romanists* for want of

* *Alamus Copus, Thomas Aquinas, Lyra, &c.*

or the like, are not to be proposed for examples.

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a better answer have beene put vpon this shift. But their dreames * *Vasques* hath very well refuted. First, because *Assuerus* himselfe never affected this kinde of honour, and *Haman* could not be so foolish, though so impious, as to exact greater honour than had beene done vnto his soveraigne. Secondly, because *Mordecai* protested his readinesse to doe *Haman* greater honour than was exacted, so his people might have bin preserved or advanced by his deiction. Yet to have honoured *Assuerus* himselfe, or any mortall man, with divine honour, had beene such an open wrong vnto the God of his Fathers, as *Mordecai* would not have done for prevention of any mischief that could have befallen his people. However; if the protestation of his readinesse, to kisse the soles of *Hamans* feete, vpon condition the state of his people might be thereby bettered: what truth is there in his pretence that being a Jew he durst not bow his knee to *Haman*, lest by so doing he should transfer the honour of his God to a mortall man, specially seeing the safetie of his nation was at that time so deeply indangered by refusall of worship which had beene tendered by his religious auncetours not onely to Kings and Prophets of *Iudah*, but even to heathen Princes. To this scruple * *Vasques* out of *Caietane* hath made answer very appositely for *Mordecai* and for vs; *Noluit illud signum honoris præbere, quia indignum ei videbatur, ut solum reverentia civilis gratia, nisi magnâ aliqua causa exigente, homini quotidie signum illud exhiberetur, non quòd lege Iudaicâ id prohibitum esset, sed quia ex cõmuni consuetudine non nisi magnâ aliqua ex causâ regibus et principibus illud signum exhibebatur: sed soli Deo tanquam supremum cõ-*

Cap. 36.

* *Vasques*
lib. 1. de a-
dorat. disp. 5.
cap. 3. num.
156. &c.

* *Vasques*
ibid. n. 158.

Sectio. 4. muniter erat reſervatū. Atq; hac ratione dixit Mardocheus, *Timui ne honorem Dei, id est ſignum quod conſuetudine populi noſtri, dei cultui applicatum eſt, in hominem transferrem.* The brieſe or abſtract of his reply is this: The ſigne of ſubmiſſion which *Haman* exacted, was vſually tendered onely vnto God; to Kings or Prophets or others in preeminence very ſeldome, and vpon ſpeciall occasions; as in teſtification either of vnusuall ſorrow, or of thankfulneſſe more than ordinary. The truth of his obſervation is apparant out of *Ruths* behaviour to *Boaz*, of *Iudeths* to *Holofernes*, of *Abigails* and *Mephiboſeths* to *David*, and of the *Captaines* to *Elijah*. 4. King. 1. And albeit *Haman* was bent to doe the *Iewes* an extraordinary miſchiefe for *Mordecais* ſake; yet *Mordecai* had no opportunitie offered him by diuine providence to prevent it by ſubmiſſion of himſelfe to *Haman*, but rather by ſtanding out againſt him. In this generall then, *Vaſques* and wee well agree, that ſuch externall worſhip as vpon ſpeciall and rare occasions may be lawfully exhibited to ſome creatures, becomes Idololatricall by vſe or continuance, without concurrence of like occasions. The iſſue which wee deſire to joyne with him and his fellowes, from theſe
 “ grounds, ſhall be this. Firſt, whether the homage,
 “ which they doe to Images be not in it ſelfe much
 “ greater, and, in reſpect of many circumſtances, far
 “ more ſolemne than *Haman* required of *Mordecai*?
 “ Secondly, whether the exhibition of it in Gods
 “ Temples be not more frequent and vſuall, than
 “ *Mordecais* occasions and neceſſities of ſaluting *Haman*
 “ could haue beene in *Aſſuerus* Court? Herein
 onely they truely follow *Mordecais* example, that they
 ſel-

or the like, are not to be proposed for examples.

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seldome or never communicate Gods honour to secular Princes; but on stockes or stones they vsually bestow all the signes of submission or other solemnities that can be appropriated to Gods service.

2. The strict tenour of Gods commandement, and that significant character, whereby he expresseth his speciall observance of mens demeanour in this point, evidently condemne the *Romish Church* of abominable Idolatry; yet in my judgement it doth no way preiudice the performance of such externall respect, or such testification of reverence vnto true reliques of Saints, or vncouth places (sometimes extraordinarily graced with Gods presence) as *Jacob* tendered vnto the stone. We ought in these cases to moderate the impussions which their sight would procure, by the analogie of that libertie, which discretion and good manners grants vs in other points, wherewith the occasions of Idolatry haue most affinitie. For Idolatry is but a spirituall fornication or adultery. Now there is no man of discretion, though otherwise more iealous than he hath iust cause, but will permit his wife to salute his friends vpon speciall occasions, or at first meetings after long absence. But suppose a wanton, vpon this libertie, should presume to continue the same salutations evening and morning, or most houres of the day, for a moneth together, and plead her excuse from the analogie of *Romish Catechismes* in cases of conscience concerning spirituall adulterie, thus; Sir, I thought I might as freely kisse my friends and yours, at one time, as at another, at all times, as well as at any, so long as I kisse them onely with kisses of loue and kindnesse, not of lust and wantonnesse.

Z 3

Would

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* Ezek. 16.
ver. 31, 32.

Would this distinction giue iust satisfaction to any husband, no farther iealous than he hath occasion? I thinke no *Iesuite* would relie vpon it, if he should be detected to be thus over familiar with another mans wife of better spirit. And yet in expresse denying the equitie of this apologie, they implicitly graunt that their mother doth presume farther vpon the patience of the Almighty (who in this case hath protested his especiall iealousie) than any secular Strumpet dare, vpon the patience of her loving or doting husband. *She hath done all the workes of a presumptuous whorish woman, building her high places in the corner of every way, and making her high places in every street, and hath not bin as an harlot that despiseth a reward, but as a wife that playeth the harlot, and taketh others for her husband**. She is
 “ contrarie, Other harlots receiue rewards of their lo-
 “ vers, which for the most part repaire vnto them.
 “ She compasseth sea and land and rangeth through
 “ all the Courts of the great Kings dominion, with
 “ gifts in her hand to entice, with the sacrifice of
 “ prayse and hymnes in her mouth to enchaunt the
 “ chaste and loyall servants of her Lord vnto her lust.
 And being deprived of their company prostrates her
 selfe, evening and morning, all the houres of the day
 and night, vnto carved Images of both sexes; with
 whom her Lord and husband hath so strictly forbid-
 den her all familiaritie. And yet, in pride of her who-
 rish cunning, presumes shee is able to bleare that all-
 seeing eye, vnto whole brightnesse light it selfe is in
 comparison but as darkenesse, to whom the most se-
 cret corners of darknesse shine more clearly than the
 noone-light doth vnto vs; if shee haue but leasure to
 wipe

wipe her lippes with this distinction, I did kisse my servants, vnto whom I prostrated my body, only with kisses of *dulia*, not of *latria*. The *sent* of dead corps cannot draw the Vultures halfe so far, with such greedinesse, as every vnflavoury *tale* or ridiculous *wander* doth her children, to feed their soules with the sight of counterfeite and putrified reliques. The wisest of her sonnes are now become so foolish, as to publish with their mouths, what she had long since said in the pride of her heart: *Tush God was a iealous God in the dayes of the Synagogue his former wife, which wanted discretion*
“ *and proved vnfaithfull*: but this his new Spouse, our
“ holy mother the Catholicke Church, is more wise
“ and gracious in his eyes, able to warrant whatsoever
“ is done by her appointment; she knows how to hum-
“ mor and please her loving husband, who is not like
“ man that he should be iealous of her carriage, that
“ meanes no harme & cannot behaue her selfe amisse,
“ though, to vnfaithfull eyes, she may seeme outward-
“ ly to doe as wantons doe.

3. God indeed is never iealous as men are, without grounds of iust occasion, yet more tenderly observant of his *spouses* demeanour in this kinde, than any husband is of his wives; because he knowes (as by his law he would giue vs to vnderstand) that familiaritie or dalliance with strange and wanton lovers, is not so powerfull to corrupt the weaker sex, as kissing or solemne salutations of graven Images, is to pollute the wisest soules, or to enveigle the strongest faith. And vnlesse we knew he had determined to confound the wisdome of the wise, it would seeme more than miraculously strange, how such great schollers as are the

Sectio. 4.

Iesuites, should be ignorant, that the visible exhibition of Christ in the flesh, makes all service of graven Images more abominable in the Christians, than it could have been in the *Jew*. It is a truth sealed by the new Testament as well as by the Law, We heard a voyce, we saw no similitude besides the engraven Image of Gods substance, by whom, though he speake most plentifully to the world, yet spake he nothing concerning Images. Neither is there any instance or matter of fact in all the new Testament, that can be pretended for worshipping Images or other visible creatures, with such *shew* of probabilitie, as the former instance of *Jacob* may be. But whether *Jacob* did onely worship God, *presente lapide*, or whether he did in some sort externally worship or coadore the stone with God; or whether he did make vnto himselfe such sensible attestation of his solemn vow, by anointing the stone, and erecting it into a pillar, as wee doe of our solemn oaths by kissing of the booke: I leaue it to the Reader; though for mine owne part I like this last *forme* of *speech* the best. But however mens opiniōs may vary concerning the *forme* of *speech*, the matter most to be considered by all (which seemes to me a
 “ truth vnquestionable,) is this: If the wisest or most
 “ circumspicest man on earth should worship God in e-
 “ very place, after the same manner (for every cir-
 “ cumstance) that *Jacob* did God in *Bethel*; or, if the
 “ most accurate Anatomist of his owne thoughts or
 “ affections, should take every stone into such consi-
 “ deration, whilest he worshippeth God, as *Jacob* did
 “ that stone: *He* should become a grosse Idolater
 “ without all helpe from any distinction, wherewith
 “ the

or the like, are not to be proposed for examples.

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“ the *Romish Church* can furnish him. The truth is,
“ that *Jacob* did so worship God in the presence of the
“ stone, as his posteritie were bound to worship him
“ before the Arke of the Covenant. Both worshipped
“ him *in* or *by* those creatures, after such a manner, as
“ wee may not worship him in any created visible
“ substance, save onely in that *created substance* where-
“ in he dwelleth bodily. The manner of his presence
(then) at *Luz* or *Bethel*, and in the Arke, were sha-
dowes or pledges of his inhabitation in the man *Christ*
Jesus; in whom, were he present on earth, wee might
and ought to adore God in such a manner, as would
be sacrilegious to adore him in any other man or bo-
die.

4. But it is the propertie of whoredome as well
spirituall as carnall, to lead such as taste her baytes
with delight, like Oxen to the slaughter, without any
apprehension of dangers approach, vntill death sur-
prise them. *Lots* mischance is become the *Romish*
Churches perpetuall heritage; she is so besotted with
the grapes of her owne planting, that shee knowes not
what abomination shee commits, nor with whom.
Like an harlot drunke in a common Inne, or a fran-
ticke whore in an open market, she prostrates her selfe
to every passenger, and sets open all the temples of
God, whose keyes haue beene committed to her cu-
stodie, that they may serue as common stewes for sa-
tiating the foule lustes of infernall spirits; whom she
thither invites by solemne enchantments, as by sacri-
ficing and offering incense vnto Images. And finding
pleasure in the practice, dreames shee imbraceth her
Lord and husband, whilest these vncleane birds, en-
cage

CHAPTER. XXXVII.

Whether granting that it were lawfull to worship such Saints, as wee undoubtedly beleue to be true Saints, we might lawfully worship such as we suspect to be no true Saints.

I.  F to honour true Saints and heires of blisse with prayers, temples, sacrifices, and vowes, be Idolatric; we shall want termes to expresse the abomination of their sacriledge, in performing these points of service vnto such as the world hath either no warrant to account members of Christs mysticall body, or just reason to suspect forsonnes of darkenesse. In doubtfull cases of this nature, some honestly minded *Romanists* vsed to conceiue their prayers with such conditions as the *French-man* did his to *S. Cuthbert*, *Si sanctus sis, ora pro me, If you be a Saint, pray for me.* It was a desperate resolution, better befitting an impudent Monke, than *Sr. * Thomas More*, to censure this caution of scrupulositie, or to reject it as no lesse superfluous or vn-mannerly, than this forme of request vnto one of our living neighbours; *If you be an honest man, I would request you to remember me in your prayers; if not, I will not trouble you.* The good Gentleman was out of his element, when he wrote controversies in Divinitie; for he would haue sooner taken an Apple in stead of an Nut at a banquet, than haue iudged two cases of civill justice, so dislike, as these which he here brings, by one

* *Sr. Thomas More* in his Treatise of Invocation of Saints.

one and the same rule of law. There is no man honestly wise, but would sooner request his prayers whom he knows to be dishonest or of irreligious life, then beare a solemn testimony of his honestie or religion. Mutuall prayer, is a dutie enioyned vs while we liue together: the practise of it, is the best *meane* to make bad men good, and good men better. But men deceased, whether elect or reprobates, are vncapable of amendment, either by our prayers for them, or theirs for vs. Nor doe the *Romanists* enioyne vs to pray to supposed Saints, with purpose to encrease their happinesse, or, as if they stood in need of our deuotions. To pray for any whom it is lawfull publickly to pray vnto, is by their doctrine a foule disgrace vnto the Saint; a point of infidelitie in the supplicant. Praying to Saints is by their opinion on our part a dutie or tribute wherewith we are bound to honour them: their prayers or intercessions for vs, are Princely fauours or graces which must be sought, not as acts of debt or mutuall dutie, but by religious service and supplication. Now, admitting it were lawfull to supplicate thus vnto *S. Peter*, or vnto others whom we beleeue and know to be true Saints, yet, in publike liturgies, to offer vp our prayers and vowes vpon our knees, either in honour of those with whose liues and deaths we are altogether vniacquainted, or of those whom we suspect to haue liued and dyed not so well, as we could wish to doe our selues, is a sinne, so much more grievous to good consciences, than bearing testimony vpon oath for mens positive honestie whom we know not; as stealing of treasure out of the Church is in respect of simple theft or burglarie. Testimonies
given

Section. 4. given vpon oath require certaintie of sence or experiment; and tendering of prayers as a tribute or honor, or in testification of our religious respect, requires certaintie of faith, that the partie to whom they are tendered, is worthy of them.

* Bellar. l. 3.
de Sanctior.
beatitud.
cap. 9.

2. "The ground of this difference betweene praying to living men, and praying to deceased Saints, (which the superstitious Doctors seek to conceale from the simple) may very well be gathered by analogie of *Bellarmines* resolution in another point of their service. Promises (sayth he) religiously made to living members of the Church militant, are but promises: but so made vnto Saints or members of the Church triumphant, they are truly and properly vomes. His first reason is, because a vow is but a promise vnto God, and our promises vnto Saints are liker our promises vnto God than vnto the promises, which we make to mortall men. For, as that which we promise vnto God, is vnprofitable vnto him, but profitable vnto vs, and is tendered onely by vs in signe of honour and thankfulness; so whatsoeuer we promise vnto Saints, it cannot profit them but our selues. Their happie estate stands in need of nothing that is ours; all that we offer and promise them, is in testimony of the honour which wee owe them, or in signe of our thankfulness to them. But performance of our promises, either is or may be profitable to living men, because mortalitie stands in neede of many things. Secondly, the Saints can haue no title to our vomes, *Nisi quatenus sunt Dei per participationem*; but in as much as they are Gods by participation. Now we know the Saints which raigne with Christ to be such:

“ such : but that such as liue with vs, are partakers of
“ the diuine nature, wee may hope well, certaine wee
“ cannot be. Thirdly, the Saints in heaven are hap-
“ pie, glorious, the sonnes of God, Gods by participati-
“ on, because they are confirmed in their estate, and
“ are not subject to change or Apostasie ; to both
“ which all in this life having their blisse and glory
“ rather in *spe* than in *re*, are (in his judgement) *still*
obnoxious. From these resolutions wee thus infer. If
promises, then the prayers which we make to Saints,
haue greater affinity with the prayers which we make
to God, than with our request to living men, that they
would pray for vs. To speake properly, we pray men,
we doe not vse to pray vnto them. But as vnto God, so
vnto Saints, men of the *Romane Churches* catechizing
vse to pray, & that solemnly, because they hold them
Gods by *participation*. Now as we might not worship
our redeemer *Cultu latría with diuine worship*, vnlesse
we were by faith assured that he were truely God:
so admitting the invocation or worshipping of true
Saints *Cultu Dulia*, were warranted by the word of
God; yet might we not worship any with this kinde
of worship, without like certaintie of faith, that they
are Gods by *participation*, or heires of glory. Had this
great Clerke beene mindfull, in his third booke con-
cerning the worshipping of Saints, of what he had
said before in the first, he would in wisedome haue
concealed these conclusions. Or if he had in the first
booke foreseene the necessitie of this resolution con-
cerning vows, *shame* would haue made him disclaime
the practise of praying though privately vnto vnca-
nonized Saints, whose lawfulnessse, he there maintains
by

Sectio.4. by the same plea, that Sir Thomas More vsed; *Oramus viuentes etiam si nesciamus esse Sanctos, cur non defunctos quando maiori ratione confidimus esse sanctos.* We pray living men to pray for vs, albeit we know them not to be Saints; and why not men deceased, whom we may on better reasons hope to be Saints; though this we may not doe in publicke Letanies and sacred Service? Now; they may not invoke such Saints in publicke Liturgies, because the Church hath forbidden it, otherwise *Nazianzens Prosopopaia*, in his *Panegyricke* to Basil or *Athanasius* might haue beene a sufficient warrant to haue conceived a publicke hymne in the same forme. But (as I said) we pray living men to pray for vs, as we are readie to doe for them; we pray not vnto them; we giue no solemne testimony of their sanctitie, whose sinceritie we mistrust; though this were lesse sacrilegious and dishonourable vnto God, then praying vnto them whom we know not to be Saints, albeit to pray vnto knowne Saints, were no sacriledge. For what preposterous partialitie is this? that God must manifest his right to supreme honour by his workes of creation and providence; that our Saviour which died for vs, must plead his title to the like, by miracles, whilest he lived; by his resurrection from the dead, and glorious ascension into heaven: and yet men that were subiect to the same passions as we our selues are, must be worshipped after death, with such worship as is more like to the honour which wee owe to God, than any respect or reverence, which is due to the best man living; and all this without any evidence of their sanctitie, or iust prooffe of their right vnto such obsequies.

3. The infinite extent of this Idolatry with suspicious Saints in times past, is so well prosecuted by many, that it needs no long declaration. No *Iesuite* will take the defence of the Churches practise vpon him. For reformation of such palpable abuses as no distinction can salve, all of them pleade a necessitie of having Saints canoniz d, that is, of having their supposed incorporation into the Church triumphant authentickly published, and their worship authorised by the Church, whose testimony may ground certainty of faith. *Bellarmino* tells vs a story, out of *Sulpitius*, of one that was worshipped for a Martyr, whose soule notwithstanding made his appearance before *S^t Martin*, (who suspected the service as vnlawfull, because not warranted by tradition of antiquitie,) and ingenuously confessed that it was the damned ghost of a certaine robber, which had beene sentenced to violent death by course of law. And Pope *Alexander* the third checkt some of his time, (nor were they altogether without blame) for adoring one as an holy Martyr, which had beene slaine in a drunken fray. But graunting this story of *S^t Martin* to be true, vnlesse there be some authentike judges to determine, which are true revelations, which not; the doctrine of praying to Saints, being indefinitely allowed, it is altogether as likly, that many theeves might be worshipped vpon false or pretended revelations, as that the worship of one theefe should be recald by revelatiō made to *S^t Martin*. Hath the Pope then passed this infallible censure vpon all the revelations that haue beene in this case pretended? or taken other order to secure the world from all possibility of imposture? If he haue,

we


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we would desire to be acquainted with his determinations. In the meane time, we will enquire first whether the disease without some soveraigne medicine be not alike dangerous in *Rome-Christian*, as it was in *Rome-Heathen*? Secondly, whether the medicine pretended by *Rome-Christian* be applyed according to her owne prescriptions? Thirdly, whether so applied it be not more deadly than the disease?

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Rome-Christian as vaine and foolish in making imaginary Saints, as Rome-Heathen in making false Gods.

* See Section 3. cap. 18 par. 7. &c. and cap. 21. in the two last Parag.

I.  He solemne worship of * locall Saints, did either first begin or multiplie its first beginnings throughout these parts of the world with the inundation of *Barbarians*, as the Reader may gather out of *Gregorie of Towers*, and *Beda*, &c. Nor would I deny, that many of these late converted Paynims prayers to God, though conceived out of an opinion of the Saints mediations, were often heard; as the auncient *Romanes*, though their devotion were clad with Idolatry, as bones with flesh, were often rewarded with such temporall blessings, as God in justice denyed to other Idolaters, lesse devout in their kinde. The *Carthaginians* might haue sacrificed vnto *Fortune* for victory, or vnto stormes and tempests in their distresse, with worse successe, than some *Romane* Generalls did, because their respect or esteeme of divine power & providence indefinitely considered, was not so good.

So

So might those prayers of the *French* Kings tendred vnto *S^t Martin*, be sometimes better heard, than the prayers which their enemies made vnto their Gods. All this notwithstanding being granted, the decrees of solemne honour to their Images might be as Idolatrous as *Rome-Heathens* erection of Temples vnto *fortune* or *stormes*. In opposition to Atheisme or irreligion God vsually accepts deuotiō though tainted with superstition. And vnto this *case*, I will reduce those prayers which that devout Virgin (whose chastitie * *Cyprian*, before he was a Saint sought to expugne by helpe of magicke) presented to the Virgin *Marie* in extremitie of conflict with foule lustes. That prayers thus made, out of ignorance, whether to Saints or false Gods, haue sometimes found successe, is to be ascribed to the abundant mercie of the true God: to continue the like practises, vpon these experiments, is the fruit of mans superstitious impietie, and hath beene the mother or nurse of much Idolatrie.

2. As *Fortune* vpon experiments of good successe in doing her service had more Temples in *Rome* than any other God or Goddesse: so the blessed Virgin vpon such relations as this of *Nazianzene* concerning the forementioned * *maid*, hath beene presented with more *Ave Marias* by *maides* and *women* (and that with better devotion) than God with *Pater nosters*. Though the lawfull honor which was given to her redounded to Gods glory: yet in honouring her more than him, they dishonour him more, than if they adored *fortune* whom they cannot dishonour, because she is not: but the blessed Virgin they much dishonour in honoring her as a Goddesse, or a *compeere* of God; and her dishonour

* *Nazianz.*
in orat. pro
Cypriano.

Compare
this practise
in *Rome-
Christian*
with the
practises of
*Rome-Hea-
then*. Sect. 3.
cap. 17. par.
2, 3, 4, 5 &c.

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honour is by their owne confession Gods dishonour. But as to pray to her, suites best with womens desires; so other perplexities or conditions of life had peculiar Saints, to symbolize with them; whose respect vpon particular occasions or exigences, will (from the temptation before mentioned) be much greater than Gods, if their invocations may be permitted. From this opportunitie did the multitude of *Rome-Christians* locall Saints exceed the number of *Rome-Heathens* topicke Gods. Thus as *Rome-Heathen* had a Goddesse for corne before it was sprouted, another for it after it was come vp, a third for the straw, a fourth for the knot, and a fifth for the eare; so hath *Rome-Christian* one Saint for this part of mans body, another for that; one for the *pestilence*, another for *fevers*, one for *tooth-ach*, another for paine in the side, &c. And would not men, women, or children, deeply affected with these bodily grievances, pray as heartily and vow as devoutly to their supposed patrones as vnto Christ? It is vsuall with merry companions, when they heare gamesters pray for good lucke, to say; God was never good player at cards and dice. Every man in sence of extreame paine, would be as readie to say; Christ I know is a good man, and hath experience of all infirmities, but we never reade that he was so much troubled with the tooth-ach, as S. *Apollonia* hath beene, or with the side-ach, as S. *Roccha*. Hath not S. *Sebastian* vpon these motives bereft him of his titles for his cure of pestilence? An heathen that should read Gods attributes of *wounding* and *making whole*, or Christs miraculous cures of all *diseases*, albeit he neither beleeved one or other, would vndoubtedly beleeue, that
the

the hymnes which haue beene sung vnto S. Sebastian, had beene consecrated to the Christians God and Redeemer; or they might well thinke that to avoyd the censurc of Paganisme, the *Papists* did honour their *Æsculapius* vnder another name; or that out of envie to his vniversall skill in curing diseases, this *Empyricke* had beene set vp to eclipse his fame and robbe him of patients in cure of the pestilence.

*Tu qui Deo es tam charus,
Et in luce valde clarus,
Sana tuos populos,
Et à peste nos defende:
Opem nobis hanc impende
Contra morbi stimulos.*

*Thou who art a God so deare,
And in light exceeding cleare,
Health vnto thy people bring,
Vs from pestilence defend:
Aide vnto thy people send,
'Gainst diseases that them sting.*

3. Experiments registred in the Records of Antiquitie pretended against vs, will confirme our observation, that as Conquerors vsually change the names of Townes and titles of Regiments, with whose emoluments or reall titles they grace their followers: so the * professors of Christianitie having expelled the

* Quare cum primum illuxit, & in-

valuit splendor Christiana pietatis, Tolosani proceres teſtorio inaurato specieſum ſanum, antea Palladi dedicatum, Maria Virgini conſuliſſimè tranſcripſerunt: tum quia Pallas virgo ex Iovis parentis cerebro nata fingatur, tum quia conſilio & opibus abundè fortunei mortales, & Maria virginitatem natura obſtupendam retinuit, & in Dei Opt. Max. mente ante ſolem & tempora verſabatur, & aurèa nobis aſtatem prorſus reduxit, ac paritè mirifico miſeros agroſq; proſperavit. &c. Forcat. lib. 1. pag. 32.

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profession of Paganisme, before their hearts were thoroughly clesed from the reliques of it, shared the dignities or signiories of the old Heathen Gods, amongst the Saints or Martyrs, which they best affected. Thus was the Temple of *Pantheon*, that is, of all the Gods, with the rights or honours due vnto it, alienated by *Rome-Christian* to all Saints, whose service (by æquivalency) is celebrated as superstitiously by *Rome Christian* vpon the day which wee solemnize in the memory of all true Saints deceased. The lake in *Cyrene*, which had beene *Pallas* her joynture and bare her name, was in *S. Augustines* time bequeathed to *S. Marie*, and instead of *Tritonidis Palus*, named *Marie Palus*, that is, of *Pallas* her lake, made our Ladies lake. Civill modestie would not suffer latter ages to make the blessed Virgin Patronesse of Wantons; therefore was this part of *Venus* honourable office, bestowed on *Marie Magdalene*, and on one *Afra*; but *Venus* regencie over the Sea fell to *S. Maries* lot vpon as little ground, I suppose, as the Heathens had to entitle *Venus* to it.

Venus orta mari mare præstat eunti
— *Tranquillum.*

Venus (as thought the Heathens) tooke nature and substance from the froth of the Sea, and the blessed Virgins name imports as much as a *Sea* or *multitude of waters*; and is entyled in their Liturgies * *Stellamaris*. This will-worship begunne vpon these motives, did multiplie Gods by subdivisions (occasioned from the diversity of sexes or other references) in as prodigious sort as the Heathens had done. If the good-man pray
to

See Chapa.
28. par. 1.

Artemidis
Stella.

* *Apollinis*
delubrum
Clodoveus
quintus
Francorum
Rex, eiecto
nomine amo-
ribus illicis
infamato,
Virgini Ma-
ria veri solis
genetricis co-
secravit.
Forcat. lib. 5.
pag. 669.
* *Officium*
Beatae Ma-
riae.

to *Pelagius* for the welfare of his Oxen, the good-wife would pray to *S. Bride* for the welfare of her Kine. *S. Antonies* extraordinary and tender care over swine, could not content them without another peculiar & more immediate president of Sowes. Their shamelesse and sottish vanitie in this kinde, is prosecuted at large by others; the Reader, if it be worth his contemplation, may view it with lesse paines than I can draw the Mappe or survey of it. Amongst others it is wittily set downe by the famous * Knight of the Mount or Lyon King at Armes, who for conclusion challengeth the *Heralds* of will-worship to blazon the difference, if any there were, betweene *Heathenish* and *Romish* Idolatrie. He though as well skill'd as any of his time in titles of honour, could discry no difference betweene their services.

* *St David*
Linsay.

4. *Rome-Heathen* in the *axum* or full growth of superstition made *he Gods* of the masculine, and *she Gods* of the feminine names of affections, as *Pavor*, *Clementia*, &c. *Rome-Christian* clothed imaginary Saints with formed names, fitted of purpose to their humors which were to worship them, lest their marchandise should want chapmen. For humorous affection is alwayes charitable to beleue that hath reall existence, whose imagination is pleasant. It would be hard for any *Legendary* to produce the warrant of any *Writer* sacred or ecclesiasticke, why *Urbanus* should be reputed a Saint. *Horace*, I thinke, is the most canonical Author he can alledge, *Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?* Pleasant companions were to haue a patrone as well as others, and none so fit for them as *Urbanus*. As a coate given by the *Herald* makes a clowne

Sectio.4. a Gentleman: so this *name* devised by a writer of Legends, was matter enough for men so disposed to create a Saint out of it. Or perhaps some such, as they name in sports, had beene killed in a drunken fray, and taken for a Martyr of his followers. But out of question some good *fellows* in meere merriment set vp *Gutmannus* for the Warden of *pudding-makers*. The pedigree of many other solemnly worshipped in times past, and in some places (perhaps) at this day, cannot be derived from any reall ancestors, but had names from the matters, whereof they are supposed presidents, as *mammon* in the Syriack and *Plutus* in Greeke. In mindes once wrought to this effeminate levitie and credulitie, the very sight of emblematicall or hieroglyphicall devices would make impression of reall Saintships. Vnto this topicke we may refer the *raising* of S. *Christopher* or *mounting* of S. *George*. Both in some Countries had beene adored as Gods, though but *men* of the Painters or Heralds making. That most naturall branch of superstition which had spread it selfe, like the Vine amongst the Heathens (exemplified heretofore in *Balak*) did recover sappe and lease againe in greater quantitie in the *Romane Church*. The prayers which the blessed Virgin either could not heare, or would not graunt at *Winchester*, were so effectually heard at *Walsingham* or *Loretto*, that the Ladie of *Winchester*, *Walsingham* and *Loretto* did in vulgar esteeme, differ as much in person as these Townes did in place, and were conceived to emulate each other no lesse, than as if they had beene Ladies of diverse families in the Princes Court.

5. This leaven of Gentilisme, which had thus diffused

fused it selfe through the *Romish Masse*, or the *Romish Churches* pretended service of God, and thus shared his heavenly regiment amongst the Saints; (as Conquerors doe the Lands which they conquer, among their followers) making them not proprietaries onely, but in a sort absolute Princes within their Territories, and God onely a titular Monarch of the whole or proprietary in some principall parts; after it had thus wrought downward did in the issue reflect vpward. The intellectuall conceipt of Gods proper attributes, their prayers immediately directed to the Trinitie, to the Godhead or Christ, were tainted with a spice of that sorcery or vaine observance, which was before observed in the Heathens. Some of their Liturgies argue as great a confidence in altering Gods attributes in their supplications, as *Balaam* did in the change of places for his sacrifice. Of foure or five Letanies, which the Church of *Ravenna* had in *S. Gregories* time (but more corrupted since) all now abrogated, not for any superstition but for conformitie to the *Romane Church*, this here following was doubtlesse the best; because the writer of that Historie would not haue the patterne lost, and the beginning is good, but all the rest nought.

Creator mundi Deus, miserere nostri.

Pater de Caelis Deus, miserere nostri.

Fili Redemptor mundi Deus, mis: no:

Spiritus sancte Deus, mis: no:

Trinus & vnus Deus, mis: no:

Rex regum mis: no:

Rex exercituum mis: no:

*Hieronymus
Rubens in
his History
of Ravenna.*

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*Archangelorum eternitas mis: no:**Bonitas Patriarcharum mis: no:**Charitas sacerdotum mis: no:**Diuitie Prophetarum mis: no:**Electio Apostolorum mis: no:**Fides Martyrum mis: no:**Gloria Confessorum mis: no:**Hereditas Levitarum mis: no:**Iuste Iudex mis: no:**Charitas Potestatum mis: no:**Lux Gentium mis: no:**Misericordia captivorum mis: no:**Navigantium gubernator mis: no:**Orphanorum pastor mis: no:**Pacis conditor mis: no:**Qui es indultor, mis: no:**Remissio peccatorum mis: no:**Sanitas infirmantium, mis: no:**Tutela virginum, mis: no:**Consolatio viduarum, mis: no:**Excitatio mortuorum, mis: no:**Initium seculorum, mis: no:**Zelus & corona Martyrum, mis: no:**Saluator totius mundi, mis: no:**Pacem & concordiam da nobis, Domine.**Sancta Maria, mis: nob:*

After a Catalogue of particular Saints and Saintesses first invocated by their proper names, and afterward by way of an vniversall conclusion made vp out of the induction of particulars,

*Omnes Sancte virgines Dei interced:**Omnes sancti & sancta dea interced:*

They

They returne againe to Christ and ranke his attribures
in a short rime :

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Christe fili dei vivi, mis: no:

Tu es Deus omnipotens, mis: no:

Qui in hunc mundum venisti, mis: no:

Qui pro nobis flagellatus fuisti, mis: no:

Qui in cruce pependisti, mis: no:

Qui mortem propter nos accepisti, mis: no:

Qui in sepulchro iacuisti, mis: no:

Qui ad inferos descendisti, mis: no:

Qui tertia die resurrexisti, mis: no:

Qui in Cælos ascendisti, mis: no:

Qui Spiritum paracletum in Apostolos misisti,
mis: no:

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, mis: no:

Qui venturus es iudicare vivos & mortuos
et seculum per ignem, mis: no:

Miserere nobis Domine, miserere nobis :

Kyrie eleison.


6. Whiles I reade these and other Letanies vsed by the *Romish Church*, I cannot but congratulate the wisdom and moderation of the Church wherein I was borne and baptized; which hath so well extracted the spirit of primitiue devotion from the grossenesse of later and declining ages superstition. These admitted new Mediators into their Liturgies, with as great facilitie, as our corporations doe strangers, (whom they would haue graced) into their fraternities, or as Vniuersities doe Students into their Registers. *Gregorie the Great* had crept into this Letanie of *Ravenna*, (as mine Author thinkes) after his death, but it seemes they had allotted him his place whilest he lived; other-

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therwise they might, without offence vnto posteritie, haue set him below *S. Hierom* and *S. Augustin*. Our Letanie, as it admits no compeers with Christ, no secondary Mediators or Intercessors; so it vseth no interpellations of him or any person in the Trinitie, but such as well becomes the sinceritie and gravitie of orthodoxall devotion. Howbeit, the next point I am to prosecute, is the ill successe, which the *Romish Churches* intended reformation of abuses in praying to Saints hath found, not the good successe of our own: of which in this place I haue no more to say, saue onely; The Lord of his mercy grant, that we may be as well inwardly as outwardly conformable to the good orders which our religious Auncestors haue prescribed.

CHAPTER. XXXIX.

That the medicine pretended by Rome-Christian for curing the former disease, did rather increase than assuage it.

1.  ordinary Bishops haue their distinct diocesse without which their pastorall staues cannot reach: so some Saints were particularly honoured in this or that Province, not in others. Every Bishop, by custome more auncient than the *Romish* Religion which now is, might haue enioyned his flocke to do homage vnto Saints of his owne erection; though to binde the whole Church vnto the service of any hath beene an act of oecumenicall iurisdiction, ever since this custome came vp. But to permit the same libertie to every

ry

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ry Bishop within his Diocesse, which the Pope challengeth over the whole world, seemed too much vnto later Popes. For *Alexander* the third and *Innocent* the third, seeing the abuses which grew by this licentiousnesse, made a restraint that none after their times, should be enrolled in the Catalogue of Saints or worshipped, though in some particular Country or Province onely, without the approbation of their successors. So approved, it was a point of sacriledge to deny them solemn worship, or doubt of their admission into the Church triumphant. To invest the soules of men deceased with robes of glory, is by this reckoning but an exercise of the same authoritie, which giues Bishops their palls: we will suppose so. But did *Basil*, *Ambrose*, *Hierom*, *Austin*, *Gregorie* the Great, or others adored for Saints by the Catholicke Church *Romane*, attaine to this dignitie by any Popes donation? Were they as solemnly canonized as *S. Bernard*, *S. Thomas Becket*, *S. Francis*, *S. Dominick*, *S. Thomas of Aquine*, or some others that died since *Innocent* the second? If they were not; either the Popes approbation is nothing worth, or *S. Francis* and *S. Dominicke* are so much better Saints, than *Hierom*, *Ambrose*, or *Austin*, as it is worth. Or were these men of such extraordinary worth that they needed no Papall testimony? Rather to affirme this were to deny the Popes Supremacy: a point of greater danger in *Rome*, than to say in *England* any could be made Dukes or Earles without the Kings Maiesties consent or approbation. How then came these reverend Fathers by such honour, as hath bin done vnto them for many hundreth yeares by the vniverfall Church? More by custome than by expresse

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* Bellar. de
Sanct. beat.
lib. 1. cap. 8.

* Bellar. ibid.

expresse law or solemn warrant. * *Bellarmino* out of *Aquinas, prima secunda quest. 97. Articulo 3.* giues vs to vnderstand, that as customes in other cales haue the force of lawes, from the tacite consent of the Prince (without which they haue no force at all; but rather antiquitie of error and continuance of corruption :) to the worship of Saints though brought in by the generall custome of particular Churches, hath iust force and authoritie either from the expresse or tacite approbation of the Pope. He is the sole spirituall Monarch*. I haue often read it (though I never beleeued it,) that the visible head of the Church speaking *ex cathedrâ*, cannot erre in matters of faith: but I neuer suspected it had beene any where written what now I read in *Bellarmino*, that the bodie of the Church cannot erre in matters of fact, made publicke onely by example and custome, (whose originall is more hard to be found out than the head of *Nilus*) if it shall please the Pope to be silent or not to pronounce against them *ex cathedrâ*. But we must cease to be men, before we can beleue his Holinesse to be such an omnipotent God, as can make all them Saints whom the people throughout most Churches haue made choice of for their Patrons. Such abuses as bad custome had brought into some places about the time of *Alexander* the third, might, for ought we know, haue overspread many Churches in times before.

2. But if the Popes approbation be sufficient to warrant the publicke adoration of Saints, *Alexander* the third was two wayes too blame. First, in seeking
“to reforme the abuses or bad customes of most par-
“ticular Churches; seeing these by his connivence
would

mer diseases, did rather exasperate than assuage them.

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“ would have beene no abuses, or by his approbation
“ lawfull services. *Secondly*, in so applying his medi-
“ cine as there was no likelihood but it should rather
“ exasperate, than assuage the present disease or pre-
“ vent future contagion. For how far did he restrain
the people from wonted superstition? Did he prohi-
bite all men to present their devotions vpon their
knees, or to vow pilgrimages to any that were not ca-
nonized by him or his Successors? No; in that the
words of the Decree expressly forbid all publike wor-
ship of Saints not canonized; the Interpreters gather,
it was his purpose to allow them private worship.
They may yet haue household Saints of their owne
choosing, to whom they may tender all the points of
religious obsequies hitherto mentioned, not in secret
onely, but as many looking on as list, so it be not in
the open Church or in solemne service. For publicke
worship, (such as in that Decree is onely forbidden)
is not opposed to secret or private worship, where
none besides God and good friends be present. The
prohibition of it, vnlesse the penaltie be great, and
the enquirie strict, licenceth any worship, that is not
tendred in the *name*, & as the institution of the whole
Church. Now, as *Printers* sometimes gaine more by
forbidden bookes, then by such as are authorized for
publicke sale: so hath the diuell found opportunitie
to enlarge his service, by this vnseasonable restraint of
it. The vniversall prohibition to worship any for
Saints in publicke Liturgies that were not canonized,
hath, by a kinde of Antiperistasis, intended the peo-
ples superstitious bent to worship more private Saints
than otherwise would haue beene thought on, with
greater

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greater devotion in their chambers or private chap-pells; than if their open service had beene authorized in Churches. A man may take a deadly surfeit as well at home as at a publicke feast; and spirituall surfeiting or drunkenness being the disease, which Pope *Alexander* sought to cure, his prescript was no better, than if a Physician should strictly charge an intemperate glutton or drunkard to be abstemious at great feasts abroad, leaving him to his bellies discretion, at his owne Table or amongst his companions in private meetings.

3. This our judgement (by these Analogies) vpon Pope *Alexanders* successe-lesse medicine, wants not approved experiments. For the intollerable abuse of submissive servitude to a numberlesse rout of base & obscure private Saints, was never greater, never more rise than in the ages betweene the reformation pretended by Pope *Alexander*, and *Luther*. And (it seemes) the * *Trent Councell* was partly of this minde, in that to Bishops within their Diocesses, it leaues more authoritie in judging of miracles, in admission of new reliques, in setting vp new fashioned images, than the former decree (by *Bellarmines* interpretation) did. Yet if any doubtfull case, or questionable abuse of greater moment, should any where happen: the consent and advise of the Metropolitan and other neighbour Bishops must be demanded in a provinci-
all Synode, before the Bishop of the Diocese take vpon him precisely to determine one way or other; al-
wayes provided that no novelties or rites, before vnu-
sual in the Church be established before they know
his *Holines* pleasure.

* *Seff. 25. de*
Invocation.


mer diseases, did rather exasperate than assuage them.

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CHAPTER XL.

That the medicine on which the present Romish Church doth now relie is worse than the disease it selfe. That they make the Pope a greater God than the Heathen did any other God besides Iupiter.

I.  From this positive decree we may infer, that not all their private doctors onely, as *Valentian* and *Bellarmino* in the name of the rest avouch, but their whole Church representative, the Councell and Pope, joyntly agree in this conclusion, *Whatsoever religious rite or forme of worship is once approved by the Pope (thus consulted) may not be suspected of superstition, &c.* And when the Councell professeth their desire, that all superstition may be abandoned in the *invocation* of Saints, the *adoration* of reliques, or *worshipping* of images; their meaning was, as if they had prayed that the Pope would approve of whatsoever the people should publickly practise; for it is but another part of the former conclusion, that all whom he shall vouchsafe to canonize, may be lawfully adored by the vniversal Church in publicke and solemne Liturgies; so that to worship such, is now more necessary than it was before.

2. Never had the infernall powers, since their fall, so just occasion given them by any creatures, of insolentation and triumph at the wonderfull successe of their policies, as by these latter *Romanists*; who as well by
Apolo-

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Apologizing for their superstition towards the dead (whereof others haue chalenged them,) as by seeking to reforme some grosse abuses whereof themselves were ashamed, haue beene fetcht over to commit more detestable and more blasphemous idolatry with living men, than any Heathen ever did with their deceased Heroicks, with their false Gods, or true devills. Such as worshipped those beastly *Romane* Emperours, whom their Successors *consecrated*, were not bound to beleue, nor could their Successors perswade themselves, that the Senate could not erre, or doe amisse in decreeing divine honour to them. That people not knowing what faith meant, did onely as their chiefe Magistrates commanded them, nor did these command all throughout the Empire to be partakers with them in their idolatrous worship. But now to dispute whether the Pope doe well or amisse in canonizing men after death, whom he knew not living; is held a point of heresie or infidelitie. His absolute infallibilitie as well in declaring who are Saints, as in determining what honour is due vnto them, is prest vpon vs as a Maxime of faith. And is not this to worship him with divine honour? That conceipt which the old *Romanes* had of their consecrated Emperours, came as farre short of this divine excellency, which *Papists* imagine in the Pope, as the *Jewes* opinion of their *Messias* whom they expected should be a King, doth of that esteeme which true Christians make of Christ, whom they adore as God. The superstitious knowledge, or rather the practicall ignorance of the true God differeth no otherwise in *Rome-Heathen*. and *Rome-Christian*, than the ordinary knowledge of Christ

Christ in the old Testament and in the New. The idolatry of *Rome-Heathen* agrees with the idolatry of *Rome-Christian*, as the type or shadow with the body or substance.

3. *Bellarmino* giveth *Melancthon* the lye for saying the *Romish Church* ascribes a divine power to Saints in knowing mens thoughts. I aske them, not knowing our thoughts, how can they know our petitions? No Catholique (saith he) did ever teach, that they know our prayers as they are cōceived in our minds, but as they are in God, who reveales them to his Saints and Angels. He would not thus fiercely avert the imputation of the Antecedent, vnlesse he knew the inference to be legall and vnavoydable. To pray then to Saints, out of presumed beliefe that they know the secrets of our hearts, were by his confession to ascribe a divinitie vnto them, and to worship them with divine honour: plaine idolatrie. Therefore they pray vnto them out of assurance that God who sees our hearts, acquaints them with our hearts desires. Yet that one Saint, that every Saint should by this meanes know every mans prayers, that is enjoined to pray vnto them, necessarily supposeth a participation of that infinite knowledge, which is incommunicable. To see the secrets of mans heart, is one of Gods peculiar titles. If Saints by enioying his presence, enioy this sight; no reason can be conceived why in seeing him they may not see all things that are in him, all that he sees. And so they shall not be onely Gods, but (as was observed before) Gods Almighty by participation. But admitting that all such as enioy Gods presence doe heare our prayers; I demaund what

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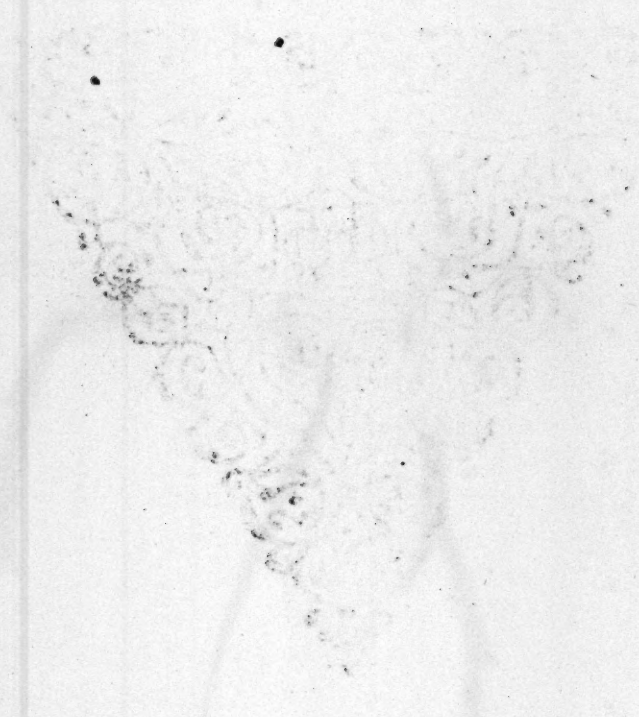
ground of beliefe *Romane Catholiques* can haue that many whom they must pray vnto, are partakers of Gods presence? Onely this; *The Pope hath canonized them.* But seeing the world is full of dissimulation and hypocrisie; seeing men are partiall to giue better testimony of such as they seeke to preferre, than they can deserue: how can his *Holines* know them to be true Saints, vnlesse he know their hearts by better testimony than humane? As a Christian, he knowes that *onely the pure in heart enjoy the blessed sight of God.* But how can he so infallibly know, as becomes a Pope, whether such as lived in *England*, in *Spaine*, in *Asia*, *America*, or other remote parts of the world, were pure in heart or but hypocrites? If he may erre in this knowledge, the people must erre in practise.

4. Their resolution of this point comes to this finall issue. Saints celestiaall see our hearts in seeing God. *Romane Catholiques* see the integritie and puritie of their hearts, whose faces they never saw, in the Pope or by reading his decrees. He stands as God to them on earth, as the true God is to the Saints in heaven. He knowes as certainly who goes to heaven, and what they doe there, as God knowes what is done in earth. And out of this confident beliefe of his infallible all-seeing spirit, his creatures pray to *S. Francis*, *Dominicke*, *Aquinas*, as vnto secondary or intermediate Intercessors, with the same assurance of faith, that they doe to Christ, as to their principall Mediatour. And reason they haue so to doe. God Almighty hath said that Christ is in heaven; and the Pope hath sayd of *Aquinas*, *Dominicke*, or some other,

other, they are in heaven. Thus like foolish Mariners or Fresh water Souldiers, after they had beene long carried vp and downe with the blasts of vaine doctrine, fearing ship-wracke in the open Ocean of former ages idolatrie, (and yet ashamed to returne to the Haven whence they *loosed*, lest wise men should laugh at them) they put in at the jawes of hell for Harbour.



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SECTION V.

*Of the transformation of the Deitie or divine power
in his nature, attributes, word, or will revealed.*

CHAPTER XLI.

*Transformation of the divine nature doth issue from the
same originall or generall fallacie, from which Idolatrie
and multiplicitie of Gods was observed to issue, Chap-
ter 17.*

I.



AMONGST the Heathen, many, who did not altogether so vainely multiplie their gods, did most grossely misfigure the divine nature or God-head. The common roote to both these branches of errour, but from which the latter doth more directly spring and take more kindly, was pronenesse to conceive of matters heavenly and invisible according to the best forme or patterne, which they had of matters visible or earthly. Now to be sole Lord of the whole earth, without consorts of like nature, would be a life (to the wisest and healthiest of men) most irksome. And the Philosopher out of a popular opinion, either of his

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owne or times more auncient, makes competent store of friendes or alliances, necessary supporters of *felicite*. Now as that happinesse which in this life they hoped for, supposed friends or other contentments; so the common *notion* of the God-head included in it a concept of happiest life. *Iupiter* himselfe, by whose provident care and magnificence, the securitie and good estate of all the rest was procured, and their necessities abundantly furnished, could not in their opinions sufficiently enjoy himselfe, or be *αὐτάρκης* without associates. Hence they imagined such a correspondency between him and other gods or goddesses of meaner ranke, as is betweene the father of every familie, his wife and children and other domestickes: or as is betweene the chiefe of every Tribe or Clan, and his alliance or dependants; or at the best such as is betweene Princes and the severall orders of their Nobilitie. All the difference for the most part apprehended by them, consisted rather in the diversitie of degree or order, than in any difference of nature. Parallel to their severall *notions* of *felicite* (whether private or publique) were as well the nature and attributes of the greatest God, as his manner of government proportioned. The forme of celestiall regiment was by most voyces held Monarchicall or Royall, because *that* by consent of Nations was esteemed best. Howbeit in as much as Tyrannicall abuse of Kingly authoritie had made it odious, it seemed good to haue it tempered in heaven, as it vsually was on earth, by admixture of Aristocraticall Subpeeres, by Tribuniti- all inhibitions of fates, or intercession of other imaginary powers supposed as absolute for some particular

lar purposes, as *Ioue* himselfe was for right disposing the vniversall Such as held externall feature no small part of their felicitie, imagined the Gods and Goddesses to be of most rare and admirable feature. But the belly had neither eyes nor cares, nor can it be pleased with pleasant sonets though of feasting, or with fairest pictures of daintiest meates. Men pinched with hunger or ready to perish for want of looking to, haue small desire of wealth or greatnesse, saue onely for bettering their fare or attendāce. Such smell-feasts, as *Homer* was, or rather such as he sought to please, or set forth vnto vs, conceived the *life* of their Gods to be such, as themselves would haue led, had they beene in their place. The greatest part of heavenly joy seemed to consist in the quintessence of such delicacies as they had scene or tasted, or in the magnificent variety of royall service. Not much better was the degenerate *Iewes* conceipt of the sacrifice appointed by their God. For that reproofe; [*Thinkest thou that I will eate the flesh of Bulls, or drinke the blond of Goats?*] seemes to argue a like faultinesse in them of measuring the Almightyes delight by their owne appetite.

2. Others out of a Philosophicall derision of high prized vanities or superfluities, transformed the nature of the Gods into that disposition, which liked them best. Vacancy from care was the body, innoxious merriment or recreation the soule of that happiness, which they affected as their portion in this life: the whole world was to them but a stage, wherein Princes and Statesmen served as Actors, the alteration of States and Kingdomes, but matter of Comedie to feede their phantasies and passe the time. Agreeable

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to this humor their opinion was, that the chiefe vse or care the Gods had of men of best wit, place, or fashion was no other, than men had of Apes or Munkeies, or then great ones haue of fooles and jesters, or Lords of misrules; which kinde of ridiculous creatures are oftentimes better kept and attended, then befits their qualitie, meerey for their sport that maintaine them.

3. Such as had rightly valued the secret joy of contemplation in regard of all other contentments or solaces of mortalitie, rested secure they had done the diuine nature no wrong, but grace rather, in admitting it to be chiefe sharer in this kind of pure delight. *Aristotle* thinkes, that if the sweetnesse of that ioy, which sometimes had raught his spirits, could be continued fresh and liuely without interruption of contrary disturbances, defatigation, or satietie, it might make vp so full a measure of *felicite*, as might well befit the principall mouer, or supreme disposer of the heavenly Orbes, that is the supreme power, which he knew or did acknowledge.

4. Out of the grossest speculations of heathen concerning God much matter of no vulgar consequence might be extracted. Howbeit the best of their wisdom was alwayes mingled with folly, and the purest truth, that can be found in their writings, still detained in vnrighteousnesse. As in that booke *De Mundo ad Alexandrum* (ascribed to *Aristotle* by greater authorities of the auncient, then will easily be overswayed by *noetericall Criticismes*, or moderne coniectures) how many passages be there consonant to Christian truth about the vnitie, the wisdom, and glory of the God-head: and yet while he seekes to surpasse himselfe

selfe in exemplifying the excellency of divine Maie-
 stie, he finally transformes it into the corrupt likenesse
 of the *Persian* Monarchie. To reserve causes of princi-
 pall importance to the Prince, referring others of or-
 dinary moment to the inferior Judges, was a point of
 wisdom apprehended by the ancient heathen, yet
 quickly assented vnto by *Moses*, the man of God and
 chiefe governour of his people. This advise, which he
 followed vpon necessitie, was afterwards entertained
 by secular Princes as the mother of ease or nurse of
 pleasure; by many improved to the maintenance of
 their Maiestie. The author of the former booke could
 measure the *Persian* Monarches greatnesse by multi-
 tude of subiects and amplitude of dominions. But to
 match these with an equall extent of provident care
 for the good of most particulars, was to diminish his
 pompe or glory; a great impeachment to his happi-
 nesse. Glorious and happie he rather seemed in this,
 that having the absolute command of so many, he
 needed to trouble himselfe with the governance on-
 ly of some few Provinces, by nature more choise and
 delicate, much beautified by art, as so many pleasant
 gardens to entertaine his royall presence with varie-
 tie of delight. The charge and over-sight of others,
 affording lesse solace and more toyle, was assigned to
 Vicegerents; whose accompts (if called they were at
 any time to account) were as speedily dispatched, as
 the brieve instructions for their proceedings were gi-
 ven. This over-prizing the contentments of Monar-
 chicall life, whose practise could plead no warrant be-
 sides the limited perfection of humane excellency, oc-
 casioned a like transfiguration of the divine Maiestie

Sectio. 5. as well in the Latines, as in the Græcians: *Magna Dicuntur, parva negligunt. Cic. 2. de natura Deorum prope finem.* The Gods haue a care of great matters, but neglect the smaller.

Non vacat exiguis rebus adesse Iovi.

He who had made the earth and all therein, must leaue the charge and government of it and all the rest of this inferior tumultuous Globe (as little beſeeming ſo great a Maieſtie) vnto his Angells or Deputie-gods. The ſupercœleſtiall region muſt be to him as was *Suſa* or *Ecbatana* to the *Persian* Kings, not onely the ſole garden of his delight or totall ſphere of his reſidence, but the compleat horizon of his glorious ſight: the immortall inhabitants thereof, the onely pupills, of whom, without diſparagement to his dignitie, or impairment of his ioy or happineſſe, he might vouchſafe to take immediate and perſonall charge.

5. Some reliques of this Gentiles error, which had beene abandoned vpon the promulgation of the Goſpell, haue beene broacht againe in Schoole-diſputes, which vſually ſmell too much of thoſe Heatheniſh Caſkes, whence much of them is drawne. *Vorſtius* his deniall of the *ubiquitie* or absolute *immensitie* of the diuine nature, or his eſſentiall coexiſtence to every place, whether reall or imaginable, hath beene diſtilled out of the very dreggs of the former transformation. Nor doth theſe Schoole-mens doctrine reliſh better, which after a formall diſcuſſion of an vnqueſtionable truth; (Whether Gods providence extended in particular to flies or gnatts or ſuch like diminutive creatures, as may rather ſeeme fractions, or ſcattered offalls of Gods working, than any entire or directly in.

intended substances) have finally determined for the negative. But were the whole host of flies or gnatts or baser creatures in perswasion of the vulgar once exempted from Gods peculiar jurisdiction, parties much molested with them would easily be tempted to elect a new President for them, and so *Beel-zebub* or *Iupiter muscarum abactor* might in time recover his wonted rites by vsurpation.

CHAPTER. XLII.

A parallel betweene the Heathen Poets and moderne Romane Legendaries; betweene Heathen Philosophers and Romane Schoole-men in their transformations, or misperswasions of the diuine nature, specially of his goodnesse.

I.



TO prosecute all the transformations of the Deitie made or occasioned by heathen Poets or Painters, would be an endlesse worke. Nothing more common, though nothing in them more abominable than the representation of such factious contentions or of such siding and banding betwixt the Gods, betwixt *Iupiter* himselfe and *Iuno* his supposed Consort; as they had observed in secular States or Societies. *Premente uno, fert Deus alter opem*, One God protects the partie which another persecutes. *Vulcan* is against *Troy*, and *Apollo* stands for it. *Iuno* with the helpe of *Eolus* persecutes the *Troians* by Sea, after the *Gracians* had driven them out of their owne Land. And whilest she expostulates with *Iupiter* like a smart Huswife that takes her

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* See Virgil
in that pal-
lage: Tristi-
or, et lachry-
mis oculos
suffusa ni-
tenies, &c.
Virgil Æ-
neid. l. 1.

her selfe for quarter-Master over her owne family,
* *Venus* pleades *Aeneas* cause whom *Iuno* persecutes,
with such importunitie that *Iupiter* himselte is enfor-
ced to humor her with such curteous language and
faire promises, as a tender hearted father would vse
vnto his darling Daughter much offended or cast
downe with discontent.

2. It will be no paradoxe I hope to affirme or sup-
pose, that the preeminence of the onely sonne of God
over the Saints whether in heaven or on earth, is or
ought to be in Christian Divinitie much greater than
Iupiters preeminence in Heathenish Theologie was in
respect of other Gods. Notwithstanding the fabulous
Romane Legendary makes inferior Saintesses such
Consorts to our Saviour, as *Iuno* in the Heathen Poets
Divinitie was to *Iupiter*. In respect of the blessed Vir-
gine, whom they make Queene-mother and Regent
of Heaven, He is but as the yong Prince or pupill,
whom this his supposed Gardianesse may and doth
glue in marriage to her hand-maides. The whole so-
lemnitie of the marriage betwixt him and *S. Catharine*,
besides the historicall narratiō as authentique to them
as the Gospell, is so liuely represented in most exqui-
site cutts, as every credulous *Romane Catholicke* might
if neede were be readie to make affidavit, that hee saw
the blessed Virgine giue * *S. Catharine* in marriage to
her sonne, that he saw Christ putting the ring vpon
her finger, and that *S. Paul*, *S. Iohn* the Evangelist, *S.*

* Ipsis bac-
chanalibus
mundo in vi-
tia effuso, o-
ranti apparet

Christus cum S. S. matre virgine, D. Paulo, S. Iohanne Evang. B. Dominico & Davide Rege
psalterium pulsante, Deihara virginis dextram Christo porrigit, qui eam sibi in sponsam suscipit
& dextram annulo pretioso exornat. D. Catharina Senensis Selectiora miracula formis Æne-
is expressa Antverpia apud Philippum Galleum. 1603.

Dominick

Dominick and King *David* were present at the marriage, King *David* playing vpon the Harpe or Psalterie. Had this story beene extant onely in some auncient Legend before *Luther* time, I should haue spared the mentioning of it, but finding it in a booke dedicated by a *Dominican* Fryer to the Provinciaall of that order throughout the lower *Germanie*, and licenced to the Presse at Antwerp within these two & twenty yeares, I leaue it to the Readers consideration, whether *Romish* Monasteries be not priuiledged from the reformation of superstition pretended by Pope *Innocent* the second, by *Alexander* the third, or by the *Trent* Councell. And lest *Rome-Christian* should be out-vied by *Rome-Heathen* or other Heathens foolish conceits concerning their Gods or Goddesses, the most fabulous or most hideous metamorphosis of *Jupiter* into diuers shapes mentioned by any Heathen Poet; is more than reciprocally paralleld by the transformation of *S. Catharine* into our Saviour Christ. And lest the Reader might suspect that the eyes of *Raymund* her Confessor did but dazle, or that the vision which he saw was but *deceptio visus*, the Legendary hath painted her speaking vnto him with the voyce and mouth of God * himselte.

* *Multis
pressamori-
bis decum-*

bens, dum B. Raymundo Confessario quadam Diuinitus reuelata communicat; ipso in quibusdam subdubitante, subito facies virginis fronte ac oculis solis instar micantibus, in Christi faciem commutatur. Territo autem atq; inclamanti Confessario; Quis est qui mecum loquitur? respondit, est qui est. The same Author. Ibidem.

3. The *Romane Catholicke* that would take vpon him to iustifie the truth of this Metamorphosis, might alledge for himselte and in fauour of this Legendary, that the new heart which our Saviour vpon her earnest

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* *Diu spon-
sum precata
ut cor mun-
dum et novū
traderet, ap-
paret ei Chri-
stus, diuellit-
que ab eius
pectore cor
vetus, no-
vumq; resti-
tuit. Quod
sanè vsq;
adeo res ipsa
factum est,
ut sacri vul-
neris cicatrix
in virgineo
pectore per-
petuo man-
serit.* The

nest and often entreatie put into this his Spouse, S. Catharine, was such a heart as the voice was, *non hominis sed Dei, not the heart of a woman but of God.* That our Saviour did pull out her old heart, & put in a new one in very deed, the *Legendary avoucheth in good earnest. And if any man had beene as hard of beliefe in this point as S. Thomas was in the article of our Saviours resurrection, the scarre of the sacred wound which our Saviour made when he pulled out her old heart and put in a new one, did perpetually remaine in the Virgins breast, as an ocular demonstration to convince the incredulous. Though both be without excuse, yet heathen Poets are lesse inexcusable in that many of their fabulous metamorphosis may admit an allegoricall meaning or emblematicall importance, whereas the *Romane* Legendaries for the most part tie themselves and the Readers that can beleue their miraculous narrations, to a plaine literall historicall sense.

fore-mentioned Author, to wit, *Michael Ophovius*, a licentiate in Diuinitie and Dominican Fryer of *Amverp* in his fore-mentioned booke dedicated to the right reverend Father *Andrew Hopsius* Provinciall of lower *Germanie*.

4. Altogether as grosse and lesse excusable than any heathen Philosopher, is the *Romanist* in seeking to perswade, or justifie the daily implored intercession of Saints by the vulgarly approved practise of Court-petitions, which on poore mens parts seldome well succede without the intermediation of some great favorite or domesticall attendant of the Prince. This course, though by necessitie made lawfull to all, few subjects to our present Sovereigne would follow, were they fully perswaded his Highnesse could without de-

declarations *ore tenus* or written petitions, either perfectly vnderstand their vnjust grievances or heare their heartie prayers, though farre distant, or afford time sufficient to take notice of their miserable estate, without molestation or disturbance to his health, contentment, or more weightie consultations. Now lest the people should thinke too meanelly of the *Romish Church* or her children, if they should openly confesse such erronious practises, as could haue found no entrance into any Christians heart but through ignorance of Scriptures and incogitancie of diuine providence; they secretly nurse in their auditors an Heathenish misconceipt of Gods power and goodnesse, as if either he cannot or will not take immediate notice of all petitions faithfullly exhibited. To say he cannot heare all that sue vnto him, is to deny the infinitie of his wisdom; to say he cannot redresse their wrongs or effect their prayers heard, is to gaine say his omnipotencie: to say he will not both wayes doe, what is best for all faithfull petitioners, is to make his mercie and loving kindnesse to his people, lesse than most Princes beare vnto their meanest subjects, and to debase his fidelitie and veracitie below the *rate* of common honestie. For should (I say not, any royall hearted Prince or nobly minded Potentate, but) any honestly disposed, able to succour vs, solemnly invite vs to open our grievances vnto themselves ingaging their credit to heare vs, as readily as any for vs; we should much disparage their fidelity by bribing or soliciting their followers to be our spokesmen. Yet saith the wisdom, the sonne of God, God blessed for ever: *Come vnto me all ye that are weary, and beavie laden; and*

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I will refresh you. And must we with yong *Samuel* run from the Lord thus solemnely by his owne mouth inviting vs, vnto old *Elies*, which never call vs? No: it is a way as more compendious, so farre more safe, to say as often as this or the like everlasting invitation sounds in our eares, *Speake Lord; for thy seruant heareth:* or, *Heare Lord; for thy seruant asketh.* Thou hast commended continuall prayer, directed not to others but to thy selfe or thy Father for thy sake, as a dutie necessary to all. Thou hast assured vs we can never be too importunate with him, though we never cease to implore his favour; yea that for our importunity we shall be heard. *O remember this ye that haue forgotten God and his goodnesse, lest he teare you in peices, and there be none that can deliver you:* lest of that infinite number of Saints, whom in worshipping you haue not honoured but disgraced and slandered as Iewish receptors of your sacrilegious devotions, not one appeare to make intercession for you but all against you. For why? yee haue robb'd God of his honour as despitefully and shamefully, as did those idolatrous *Israelites*, for whose plagues that great Prophet and Saint of God became solicitor.

5. Every inclination vnto euill is apprehensie of opportunities; the greater alwayes readier to take occasion, where none is given, of doing amisse; and oft-times apt to be most provoked by such motiues, as in reason should restraine it. As for the sonne of God begotten of his Father before all worlds, to vouchsafe to be conceived and borne of a woman in the fullness of time and in this decrepite age of the world, was a wonderfull document not only of Gods vnspcakable
loue

loue towardes mankinde, but also of his vnconceivable wisdom in contriving the Redemption of the weaker sexe, the manner of whose transgression had made their estate more desperate, and the meanes of their recovery more difficult. Yet how hath the conceipt of Christs humiliation here on earth, of his dependance on his *mother* during the time of his formation and birth, and of his subjection to *her* in his infancie, brought forth preposterous and more than heathenish transformations of his glory in the superstitious daughters of the idolatrous Church? They cannot conceiue Christ as King, vnlesse they acknowledge her as *Queene Dowager* of heaven: her title of Lady is equiuarant to his title of Lord; her authoritie for some purposes held as great, her bowells of compassion (towardes the weaker sexe especially) more tender. And as the Heathens frame Gods suitable to their owne desire, soliciting them most (though otherwise lesse potent) whom they conceiue to be most favourable to their present suites: so hath the blessed Virgin throughout the *Romish Church* obtained (what she neuer sought) the intire monopolie of womens prayers in their trauailes; as if her presence at others distressefull labours (for she her selfe by their doctrine brought forth her first borne and onely sonne without paine) had wrought in her a truer feeling or tenderer touch, than the high Priest of their soules can haue of their infirmities; or as if she would vse more faithfull and effectuell intercession with her sonne, than he can or will doe with his Father. Some in our times, out of the weaknesse of their sexe matching with the impetuositie of their aduiterous and dis-

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loyall zeale, haue in this kinde beene so impotently outragious, as to intercept others supplications directed to Christ, and *supercribe* them in this forme vnto his mother; *Blessed Lady*, commaund thy sonne to heare this womans prayers, and send her deliverance. These, and the like speeches haue moued some good women, in other points tainted rather with superstition than precisenesse, to dispense with the law of secrecie seldome violated in their parliaments: and I know not whether I should attribute it to their courage or stupiditie, not to be more affrighted at such blasphemies, than at some monstrous and prodigious birth. This and the like inbred inclinations vnto superstition in the rude and vninstructed people, are more artificially set forward by the fabulous *Romane Legendary* and his *Limmer*; than the like were in the Heathen by Heathen Poets and Painters. Witnesse that Page in the Legend of *S. Dominicke* written by a Dominican Fryer of Antwerpe and dedicated to the Generall of that order in the yeare 1611. The device is, our Saviour Christ readie to dart his three arrowes of *famine, warre, and pestilence* vpon the inhabitants of the earth for their wickednesse, and the blessed *Virgin* his mother staying his hand vpon her vndertakings for a speedie reformation to be wrought to his contentment, by *S. Francis* and *S. Dominicke*.

* *Vita et miracula S. P. Dominici*

prædicatorij ordinis primi Institutoris Antuerpiæ apud Theod. Gallæum. 1611. Author. Fr: Ioan. Nys Dominican. See the same storie in prose in the festiual for the Sunday called *Sexagesima*, printed in the second yeare of Henry 8. Anno. 1511.

* *Vindicibus scelerum telis Deus impetit orbem.*

At virgo; Iratam comprime, Nate, manum.

Spondeo,

*Spondeo, ait, meliora, huiusmodi quicquid corrigat, ille
Est mihi Franciscus, quin mihi Dominicus.*

*The world with sinne-revenging darts to smite,
the Lord He threatens :*

*Her Sonne to stay his wrathfull hand,
our Lady thus intreates ;*

*All shall be well, men will amend,
I promise, doe not feare :*

*St Francis He this cure shall worke,
with Dominick my deare.*

6. But that, which surpasseth all misconceits of auncient Heathens, of Turkes, Mahumetans, or other moderne infidells, is contained in their implicite belief of the Catholicke Church, since it was contracted into the bosome of the Pope. In the former point of Intercession ; amongst many false ones sundry true Saints were intituled to some part of that honor, of which they have spoyled God : in this they disrobe him of his fundamentall and most glorious attributes, to adorne and beautifie wicked monsters ; fashioning the infallibilitie of his promises and immutable counsell of his most sacred will, to the inconstancie of tyrannicall lust ; or fluctuant resolutions of trecherous and perfidious miscreants. In the former point, Saints and Angels were but abettors of their idolatry. In this latter God himselfe is made the sworn patron of murder, incest, and all manner of crueltie ; the heavenly regiment of his Church on earth is transformed into a Machievillian tyrannie, not contented to have stained the beauty of the spouse, lest her deformities being openly descried, should publickly be detested ;

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loyall zeale, haue in this kinde beene so impotently outragious, as to intercept others supplications directed to Christ, and *supercribe* them in this forme vnto his mother; *Blessed Lady*, commaund thy sonne to heare this womans prayers, and send her deliverance. These, and the like speeches haue moued some good women, in other points tainted rather with superstition than precisenesse, to dispense with the law of secrecie seldome violated in their parliaments: and I know not whether I should attribute it to their courage or stupiditie, not to be more affrighted at such blasphemies, than at some monstrous and prodigious birth. This and the like inbred inclinations vnto superstition in the rude and vninstructed people, are more artificially let forward by the fabulous *Romane Legendary* and his *Limmer*; than the like were in the Heathen by Heathen Poets and Painters. Witnesse that Page in the Legend of *S. Dominicke* written by a Dominican Fryer of Antwerpe and dedicated to the Generall of that order in the year 1611. The device is, our Saviour Christ readie to dart his three arrowes of *famine, warre, and pestilence* vpon the inhabitants of the earth for their wickednesse, and the blessed *Virgin* his mother staying his hand vpon her vndertakings for a speedie reformation to be wrought to his contentment, by *S. Francis* and *S. Dominicke*.

* *Vita et miracula S. P. Dominici*

prædicatorij ordinis primi Institutoris Antuerpie apud Theod. Gallæum. 1611. Author. Fr: Ioan. Nys Dominican. See the same storie in prose in the festiuall for the Sunday called *Sexagesima*, printed in the second yeare of Henry 8. Anno. 1511.

* *Vindicibus scelerum telis Deus impetit orbem.*
At virgo; iratam comprime, Nate, manum.

Spondeo,

*Spondeo, ait, meliora, humanes qui corrigat, ille
Est mihi Franciscus, quin mihi Dominicus.*

*The world with sinne-revenging darts to smite,
the Lord He threatens :*

*Her Sonne to stay his wrathfull hand,
our Lady thus intreates ;*

*All shall be well, men will amend,
I promise, doe not feare :*

*S^c Francis He this cure shall worke,
with Dominick my deare .*

6. But that, which surpasseth all misconceipts of auncient Heathens, of Turkes, Mahumetans, or other moderne infidells, is contained in their implicate be- liefe of the Catholicke Church, since it was con- tracted into the bosome of the Pope. In the former point of Intercession ; amongst many false ones sundry true Saints were intituled to some part of that honor, of which they have spoyled God : in this they disrobe him of his fundamentall and most glorious attributes, to adorne and beautifie wicked monsters ; fashioning the infallibilitie of his promises and immutable coun- sell of his most sacred will, to the inconstancie of ty- rannicall lust ; or fluctuant resolutions of trecherous and perfidious miscreants. In the former point, Saints and Angels were but abettors of their idolatry. In this latter God himselfe is made the sworn patron of mur- ther, incest, and all manner of *crueltie* ; the heavenly regiment of his Church on earth is transformed into a Machievillian tyrannie, not contented to have stai- ned the beauty of the spouse, lest her deformities be- ing openly descried, should publicly be detested ;

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they seek in latter dayes to disfigure the bridegroom, and, with the wicked one in the *Psalmist*, misdeeme their Redeemer to be like vnto them, because he holds his peace at these abominations; impiously presuming, that in the day of finall judgement Christ shall ratifie, whatsoever the Pope *ex cathedra* hath determined: as if your judgement for this infidelitie or their credulitie, that herein beleene you, were not alreadye past; as if Gods vengeance did sleepe, while he were silent. This point though prosecuted vpon other occasiōs more at large before, I could not in this place so quickly leaue, were it not that I shall haue cause to meete with it with fuller indignation hereafter. For I will yet pray against this their wickednesse, from which this Land can neuer be sufficiently purged, vntill the whole seduced flocke be constrained by severe execution of wholesome lawes to doe publique penance in their Apostaticall Pastors, and blasphemous seducers ashes.

CHAPTER. XLIII.

Of particular transformations or misperceptions of diuine goodnesse alike common to the corrupt professors of true Religion, as to the zealous professors of corrupt Religion.

I. rossnesse in opinions solemnly avouched, reduced to method or instamped with the publique scale of authoritie, is easily discovered by all, to whom long accustomance hath not made their poyson in a sort familiar, or as part of daily foode. Every punie rightly

rightly catechized in the points of doctrine publickly established in our Church, can clearly discern the late mentioned or other like transformations of the Deitie, whether Heathenish or Romanish. But did each of vs privately vse the orthodoxall forme of wholesome doctrine publickly professed as a true glasse for discovering as well the obliquitie of our owne practicall resolutions, as the errors of others knowne opinions; most of vs might see just cause to thinke, that we did secretly wrong the divine essence no lesse, than they doe whom we condemne of open sacriledge and idolatrie. No mans passions in this life can be so moderate (if happily immoderate loue of his moderatenesse make him not so partiall, as not to obserue them) but may affoord him experimentall
“ grounds of this conclusion. There is no habituall
“ exorbitance of desire or affection, but secretly works
“ a Parallell transfiguration of the Deitie; no staine or
“ foule deformitie in life or manners, whereto wee
“ giue indulgence and dispensation, but will cast the
“ like aspersion vpon the immaculate Maiestie. To imagine him, that is the best of all, to be like vs in these things, which we best like or most approue, is an error almost inseparable from the corruption of our nature, oftentimes rather lopped than vtterly extirpated by infusion of grace.

2. Dispositions by nature austere and rigid, or otherwise by height of place emboldned to practise severitie, as the supporter of awe and reverence, or as an Antidote against contempt, conceipt no sacrifice so acceptable vnto God, as strict execution of lawes for the most part preposterously partiall and severe. And

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* 1. Sam.
23. 21.

if the great Moderator of heaven and earth permit the accomplishment of their designs, he is apprehended as a favourer of their desires. What seemes good to them, the same once effected is intertained as an effect of divine goodnesse. So *Saul*. would make God the author and approver of the *Ziphits* kindnesse towards himselfe, and bestow a blessing vpon them, as presuming of the Lords consent: * *Blessed be yee of the Lord; for yee haue compassion on me*: when as not the least degree of compassion or kindnesse towards him, but was extreme crueltie against poore *David*, a man after Gods owne heart. And it is a point very questionable; Whether the deformedly zealous or hard-hearted Magistrate (I meane no Atheist,) or the *Jewes* that offered their children vnto *Molech*, do God more wrong? The one mistooke the father of murther and crueltie for a God; the other make the onely and true God, which hath no pleasure in sacrifice or burnt offerings, to be delighted in bloud; not of Bulles and Goates, but of poore and miserable men. Every rigid exactor of his owne, whether by vsing the permitted benefit of humane law, or misconstrued warrant of lawes divine, disfigures his Creator and makes him a God of justice onely. On the other side, such as are ready to kill themselves and their friends with kindnesse, frame a God of mercy and bountie; vtterly dismembred of justice, of indignation, and severitie. The dissolute and wanton condemne even necessary austeritie of discipline or any set rules of life, of Pharisisme or enimitie against Christ; whom by the same error, they misconceiue to be much what like themselves, though no consort of their riotous or dissolute courses,

courses, yet one, that will saue them sooner, than most of such as seeme more holy. For did he not open heauen gates to *Publicans* and open *sinners*, when they were shut to *Scribes & Pharisees*? But alas poore soules, they consider not, that *Publicanes* and notorious sinners found mercy vnought for, to the end that succeeding ages, how great soever their offences were, should not despaire to finde it, when they diligently sought it. Though God haue mercy in as great store for vs, as for these first Converts of the Gentiles, yet may we not desire it by such extraordinary meanes, as they had it. Wee in the search of it must frame our liues to the patterne which they had set vs, after it had found them. They meeting with it, tooke a solemne farewell of their former sinnefull courses: so then mercy shewed to them, when they were aliens from faith, and blasphemers of the truth, did bring forth true repentance. And all our hopes of mercy or persuasions of actuall being in the state of grace, vnlesse they be mingled with a correspondent measure of true repentance, are but the painted fruits of Pharisaicall and Iewish blasphemie. To the former sort of these delinquents, to the rigid, and hard-hearted offender, he will declare himselfe to be such, as they secretly imagine him to be, a God of judgement without mercy, because they haue shewed no mercy to their brethren. To the latter (to the dissolute and presumptuous,) he will approue himselfe such, as they expect not; his iustice, which they least feare, will suddenly overtake them, while his mercy, with which they haue dallied, shall flie from them.

3. It is hard for any man seasoned with the rudi-

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ments of Christian faith to haue his heart so full stufte with malice, as shall leaue no confused *notion* of Christian charitie in his head, with whose abstract beautie or amiable aspect simply considered, the most wicked are enamoured. But as the naturall knowledge of God was by the Heathen; so the *notions* of his graces are still detained in vnrighteousnesse by Christians, in whom any kind of iniquitie raignes. Nor is it strange, if selfe-loue, which is the common nursery of all misconceits in moralities, bring forth delusorious imaginations of brotherly loues *inherence* in hearts, wherein outrageous malice keepes close residence; seeing to be charitably minded towards others; is a qualitie, that makes vs most commendable. No man, that thinkes too charitably of himselfe, but will easily be perswaded, that he is as charitable, as any man living towards others; towards such especially to whom charitie is most due. To speake well of Christ and their King, no man more forward, than some kinde of drunkards. What they haue heard concerning Christs loving kindnesse towards men, they neuer apprehend so affectionately, as when their hearts are dilated with pleasant liquor. Of other loue and beniginitie, than what the cup doth minister, they haue no distinct *notion* or experience. And, if at any time they be sweetly merry without quarrelling or offence; or if each tickle other with exchange of mutuall applause or delightfull toyes; they mistake their meetings for feasts of charitie. Some of this sect, will not sticke to professe how highly they scorne, that any dull sowe Stoicks deuotion, at Gods board, should be so well seasoned with loue, as are their friendly pastimes at

Bacchus

Bacchus table. But if Gods Embassadour, as time and place require, shall open his mouth against them, it is in their construction but to give a vent vnto malice, with whose abundance his heart would otherwise burst. To thinke thus maliciously of others, is held by them in this humor especially, rather an effect, than breach of charitie. For not being able to distinguish that true and absolute good, which they ought at all times most to affect, from that, which seemes good to them thus affected, they kindly well-come their eager desires of enjoying the wonted pleasures of good fellowship without molestation, for the fruits of peace. There is no foule of the ayre nor beast of the field, either by kinde or breeding so wilde or brutish, as to abandon all tearmes of loue, or desire of peace with some others; but that excessive loue, which ravenous beasts beare to their yong ones or consorts, doth still animate them with rage & fury against man, their lawfull Soueraigne, and whets their appetite to devour and prey with more than wonted greedinesse, vpon silly and harmelesse creatures. In like sort that loue, which bad minded men mutually foster among themselves, alwayes proues the mother of deadly hatred and vncharitablenesse towards all such, as loue God and his lawes; for these are greatest enemies to that kinde of peace, which they onely know, and most desire. Thus by a worse error, than can rightly be emblemized by *Ixtons* fabulous imaginations, the fumes of wine are often mistaken for the motions of the spirit, factious amitie goes currant for true Christian societie, riotous mirth or other vnhalloved solace is entertained as the comfort or peace of conscience:

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ence : and (which is worst of all) Christ is worse flandered by such consorts, than he was by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; not for a companion onely of *Publicanes* and *sinners*, but for a Patron of riot, a friend of dissolutenesse.

4. Yet are not these the principall offenders in this kinde, because their offences, though oftentimes lowest in the sight of men, are not so odious vnto the Searcher of all hearts, as the enormities of others, who presume more of his speciall favour and approbation. Many biting vsurers or oppressors will be ready to interpret the extraordinary increase of their estate; Marchants or great dealers, their successe in cheating or vnconscionable bargainings; ambitious mindes, the atchieving of their bad suites or vnlawfull promotions, as vndoubted blessings of their *God*, and sure pledges of his peculiar providence: when as in truth they are but baytes, laid by Sathan to make them sacrifice in heart to their owne devises, or to his lusts, while with their lips they offer prayes vnto the Lord. All the ~~misperuations~~ hitherto mentioned, are but so many reciprocations of that deception, which was observed before to be the maine Conduit or common spring of Idolatrie in the Heathen. As they admitted all for gods, which had done them any extraordinary good; so the carnall minded Christian deriues every notable branch of sense-pleasing good, from the onely true invisible God. The transfiguration of ~~divine essence~~ is in both cases, for qualitie, the same; albeit the Heathen Delinquent in ascribing wealth to *Mercurie*, luxury to *Bacchus*, (the one conceived as a god of cunning, the other of ryot, both flexible

flexible to mens desires, that would worship them) did lesse offend, than Christians, æqually exorbitant, doe in making the pure immaculate *Essence*, author, abettor, or approver of their exorbitances. Any furtherance of naughtie desires or approbation of vn-righteous dealing, suite worse with the knowne nature of the true God, than the imagination of false gods (fitted to such desires) did with those broken *notions*, which the vulgar Heathen had of the Deitie. The worst that can be objected to any Heathen, was their adoration of monstrous, of vile or vgly creatures for gods. The Christian in what kinde soever alike exorbitant (if we compare his secret perswasions, or presumptions either of Gods favourable affection or indulgence towards his person, or approbation of his enormous actions, with his professed beliefe of the same Gods absolute puritie, justice, holinesse, and vn-partialitie) makes the Almighty Creator, which made him man (that is the comeliest of all visible creatures) an hideous deformed monster. The fashioning of this invisible Creator in visible shape; the multiplication of supposed divine powers so fashioned, were rather accessaries than principalls in the nature of this sinne which we now reprove. At the least, to distract or divide the divine power into severall formes or portions not much disagreeable to some particular distinct attributes of the true God, is lesse abominable than to frame a multiplicite of contrary wills, or commixture of dissonant affections or resolutions in one indivisible, eternall, immutable *Essence*. The divine nature (saith * *Nyssen*) whatsoever it be besides, (for who can comprehend it?) is goodnesse, holinesse, power,

X
* *Nyssen*. in
orat. *Domi-*
nicam.

Seccio. 5. *power, glorie, puritie, aternitie.* Who is he then, may safely say to him, *My Father*? He whose nature is goodnesse, can be no favourer of bad desires, no patron of wicked purposes. He whose truth shines in whatsoever is good, can be no countenancer of the oppressor or malefactor. If one, whose conscience is branded with foule sinnes, shall before repentance claime kindred of God; and being vniust and filthy, say to that *iust and holy one*; *My father*! his mouth (whiles he repeates his *Pater Noster*) vents no prayers but contumelious slaunders against God. For by calling him *Father* (whiles he nourisheth any knowne sinnes in his heart,) he makes him author, and countenancer of his mischievous imaginations. These and the like declarations of this ancient and learned writer vpon the Lords prayer, may serue as an orthodoxall Paraphrase or iust Comment vpon these sacred Texts of Scriptures: *Vnto the wicked saith God, What hast thou to doe to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth; seing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behinde thee? When thou sawest a theefe, then thou consentedst with him, and hast beene partaker with Adulterers. Thou giuest thy mouth to euill, and thy tongue frameth deceit. Thou sittest, and speakest against thy brother; thou slaundereest thine owne mothers sonne. These things hast thou done, and I kept silence: thou thoughtest, that I was altogether such a one as thy selfe; but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes*. And if yee call him Father (saith the Apostle) which without respect of persons iudgeth according to every mans worke, passe the time of your dwelling here in feare*.*

* Psal. 50.
vers. 16, 17,
18, 19, 20,
21.

* 1 Pet. 1.
vers. 17.


5. Many excellent sayings, much what to the same effect with the former, hath *Nyssene* in the Treatise alledged; none more homogeneall to my last observation, then his censure of such, as desire God to avenge their quarrells or plague their enemies. This, as was late said, is to make him a monster, or (as much as in vs lies) to torture him; whilst we labour to worke him to be of a quite contrary disposition towards others, than we desire he should beare towards our selues. Doth a fountaine (at the same eye or outbursting) send forth sweet water and bitter? But they, which thus pray, strive by one and the same breath to quench and kindle the wrath of God. The issue of their prayers is; That he, who is Lord and maker of all, to whom the destruction of many cannot be more commodious, than the weale and safetie of all, should be as a consuming fire or malignant starre to some, but as a sweete gleaming Spring-Sunne to warme and cherish others. And yet much happier were this age, than any before it hath beene, were not the incomprehensible goodnesse of Omnipotent power, more prejudiced by some moderne Catechismes or Theological explications of his nature and attributes, than by the vncharitable prayers of the Heathen, or of rude and vncatechized Christians. Their errors, or vnwarrantable glosses, shall by Gods assistance elsewhere be severed as well from the ancient orthodoxall truth, as from the sacred Texts, whercon they seeke to ground their doctrine: both being visually corrupted, or their puritie not discerned by reason of their commixture with mans corruption or the aspersions which it casts vpon them. At this time we onely take oppor-

tuni.

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CHAPTER XLIIII.

*Of misperswasions concerning Iustice, and Mercie di-
vine.*

I.  Here is in all of vs by nature (and it is the remediless remainder of our first Parents pride) a greater desire to be great than to be good: by the strength of this exorbitancy or sinister sway of inbred appetite, men of higher place or estimation, for the most part, become more willing to do that, whence their inferi-
ors may receiue wrong, than to haue the case disputed or their credit called in question, whether the harme redounding to others from their peremptory resolutions be in its nature a wrong, or rather a necessary effect of iust authoritie. The aspersion, which this corruption of nature secretly casts vpon the Almighty, is that he may, yea doth predestinate most soules created by him to an endlesse life more miserable than this mortall life, whereof some through sicknesse, others through age, most through one or other miseries, are often wearie: that he did preordaine *Adams* fall as an vnavoydable meanes for accomplishing this his irresistible will; and that all this may be done without any impeachment to his infinite justice, goodness, or mercy so solemnly avouched and much magnified

nified in Scriptures. Peremptory positions or determinations to this purpose, are in these mens judgments, farre more safe, than to question (though but for private satisfaction or resolution) whether Gods absolute dominion over all creatures, may fully acquit him from all suspicion of wrongfull or hard v-
sing these supposed sonnes of reprobation? The rigor of this opinion, in part occasioned by this meanes, findes opportunitie of enlarging it selfe in men, either more inclined or better able to effect what they purpose by strong hand; then to forecast the certaine at-
chienements of their purposes by multiplicitie of meanes severally sufficient, and all in their kinde moderate and iust. For from this preiudiciall approbation of those courses as best, which breede them least trouble in dispatch of private businesses, they passe over their assent, without further examination, to a misgrowne branch of the former doctrine, [That Gods absolute decree for manifesting his glory is like their peremptory *resolutions* for accomplishing what they intemperately affect.] And *these* know no tenor, but one; [*Thus it shall be, and no otherwise.*] Such they are as leave no varietie of meanes, no possibilitie of choyce, or indifferencie for their instruments or actors. Yet were the course of every secondary agent so infallibly levelled by the first cause to those determinate effects which they produce, as that they could not, without violation of the law, whereto his absolute will hath tyed them, be inclined to any other; the perpetuall operation of an infinite wisdom would be superfluous to the continuall governement of heaven and earth. Wisdom more than ordinary,
(perhaps

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(perhaps greater than *Aristotle* required in his principall Mover) might seeme requisite for the first ordering or fixing the severall branches of the vnresistible power, vpon their determined and appointed ends; vnto which notwithstanding being once indissolubly chained (the number of effects possible being in this opinion no more then are determinately and inevitably future;) the same wit or skill, which serues to keepe a clocke, would without further improuement abundantly suffice to order the whole course of nature, to guide and moderate the everlasting revolutions of time.

2. Some offend, as lately hath beene debated, in seeking to enlarge Gods *iustice* by subtracting from his *mercy*, or contrariwise, every one semblably to the suggestions of his peculiar disposition. The fault properly issuing from the confluence of these humors last touched, is an extension of his power beyond the circuit of his wisdom, and other attributes of like infinite extent; which in vndoubted consequence is to restraints and bridle that power, which they would seeme aboue others to enlarge, from extending so far as reason without Scripture may rightly conceiue the force and efficacy of the *first cause* may reach. As we may not giue his honour to men or graven Images; so may we not robbe one of his attributes to enrich another. Although to speake, as the truth in this case requires, he that minisheth any one attribute, doth in conclusion minish the rest.

3. The severall places or instances of Scriptures, whereon the diuersitie of opinions concerning Gods love or hate to his creatures is grounded; I must here-
after

after warily touch and examine with that humilitie which becomes every true Christian, especially such a meane member of the English Church as my selfe. In the *Interim* (not intending to prejudice the conclusions vially receiued, or well approved by learned Reformers of Religion) I may presume of every charitable and vnpartiall Readers leave, here and there to vntwist so much or so many of their *premisses*, as were they granted, have not so much force to draw forth the conclusions, wherto their authors tye them; as to maim or mangle the Omnipotent power, or rather to disarm their Maker of omnipotencie. Yet is not this the worst: for vnto me it hath ever beene a continuall eye-sore of minde or hearts grieve, to see moderne spirits (in the pride of their presumed wits) take vpon them to grace or countenance conclusions most auncient and orthodoxall, by such new and quaint flourishing proofes, as had they true life or solid strength in themselves, were able to *dead* the principall stemmes of divine goodnesse, or at least to breake off the farre-spreading branches of it, and to engraft partiall favour and vncouth austeritie in their places. And I know not whether (besides the motives mentioned) a niggardly contraction of our kindnesse to some few friends or acquaintance (occasioned from too much experience or consideration, how quickly the fountaine of mans benignity dries vp, by deriving it vnto many;) doe not secretly and vnwittingly moue dispositions, otherwise mis-inclined, to cut the wings of Gods mercy towards others shorter, that their growth, so farre as they shelter themselves and some few more, may be the fuller, and their protecti-

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on vnder them more safe and comfortable.

4. This streame of error (arising from the former heads, with whose swift and violent course many are carried away without their expresse consent, and in a manner against their mindes,) receiues oftentimes an vnpleasant relish from an humour, wherewith all are in some measure tainted, though the *crisis* be most evident in great ones. With exaltation to high place or fortunes, there vsually shuts vp a plausible delight to adorne and beautifie their owne creatures (as they tearme them) though it be with the disgrace and spoyles of men, whom God hath made by birth, education, and other ornaments of nature, farre more noble. Secret conscioussnesse of pronenesse to imitate the Mightie in this partiall humor, covertly suggests an imaginatiō, that the Almighty is herein like them, whom we would be like, were our meanes the same; *one*, to whom nothing, not the death and everlasting torments of infinite millions, all created by him, can be displeasing, whilest their dejection serues as means for advancing his mercy towards some few predestinate vnto glory and happinesse.


5. Onely in this I can commend this rigid opinion for its kindnesse, that it is so forward ἀντιπαρρητικῶς, and might well beare this inscription; *Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me*, Mens naturall inclination to partialitie first begets this perswasion of Gods *speciall* favour towards some, and extraordinary severitie towards others, as they are his creatures: and this perswasion being once settled in the braine, doth animate augment, and sublimate the inbred partiall humor, which resideth in the heart. Towards some sort of men

men, no men living are more kinde and loving; towards others, not the wildest creatures breathing are more mercilesse and cruell, than many favourers of absolute Reprobation are. But in the points of Reprobation and Election, as in diverse others; the best and safest method is to beginne with the practise of knowne precepts concerning men, and to end in contemplatiō of the divine decree. Now the sincere practise of the Apostolique Rule of doing good to all, though speciall good to such, as are visible members of Gods family or Christs Church on earth, will best organize our hearts for the right conceiving, and qualifie our braines for the commodious expressing of our heavenly Fathers goodnesse. For seeing his mercy and loving kindnesse are absolutely infinite in themselves, why should wee deny them to be truly and sincerely extended vnto all men? Though in the issue intensively infinite to his chosen onely; on whom notwithstanding his sweetest bounties are never multiplied without some proportioned increase of bountie towards others. So often as the Ocean of his loving kindnesse towards them doth over-flow, many drops are distilled, many showers diffused, yea whole streams of his good blessings derived to such, as take no permanent relish or durable tincture of his goodnesse: not that it is his will, his blessings at any time should be fruitlesse, but that men would not bring forth fruit, where fruit justly was expected.

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CHAPTER XLV.

Of transforming the word of God into the similitude of our private or corrupt senses.

I. uch are the mutuall imbracements or intertexture of truth and goodnesse: that rightly neither can wee judge ought for good, which is not true; nor deny any knowne truth to be in its own nature good. Goodnesse it selfe, were it to be defined by me, should be no more then a *solidity of truth*: and to fasten our inclinations vpon any object as good without an apprehension or presumption of it as true, is lesse possible, than to peirce into the substance of massie bodies without passage through their surfaces. And because our appetite or affection cannot fasten vpon any conceited good without a settled perswasion, that our pre-conceit of it for such is true: it hence comes to passe, that when our eager appetites haue so farre gotten the start of deliberation, that we cannot curbe or recall them; they draw our mindes to be of their opinion, or bring the soule by this colluctance into a kinde of waking dreame, [that all such particulars are true and warrantable, which either the vnderstanding for the present cannot be perswaded peremptorily to condemne for euill, or that part or facultie, wherein affections are seated, not be dissuaded from approving as good.] *Even such as deny there is a God, or vchangeable Rule of truth or goodnesse, by whose patterne our perswasions and affections should be framed, stroue to apprehend this their wicked imagination as true: because*

not

not so apprehended it could give no shadow of present ease or contentment to their galled consciences, alwayes as apt to be grieved with every representation of infinite goodnesse accompanied with infinite justice, or of infinite truth though wedded with infinite mercy, vtterly deuoid of partialitie, as sore eyes are to be offended with every glimpse of splendent light, albeit seconded with cherishing heate or warmth comfortable to the whole body. Nor can the minde dissuade the affection, or sensuall part from any misaffected good, but by suggesting these
“ or the like contrary conceits ; [That it is a true
“ euill, and onely a seeming good. That this de-
“ sire to haue it countenanced with the authoritie
“ of truth is vnlawfull. Now whiles these opposite in-
“ clinations stand in equall ballance, there can be no
“ settled resolution or actuall choyce. Nor is it possible
the affection should, after such debatements, sway the soule to any vnlawfull practise, vnlesse the vnderstanding (or if any other middle facultie there be, which holdes the scales or hath as it were, the swaying voice betwixt them) relent or decline from the point whereat it stood, and either assent vnto the suggestions of sense for the time being, as true and good, or at least not expressly condemne them for false, nor courageously withstand them.

2. Truths or mandates diuine considered in generall or without incombrances annexed to their practise, many there be, which affect more vehemently, than their more honestly minded brethren. But this fervent imbracement arising not from a cleare intellectuall apprehension of their abstract truth, or line

Sectio. 5.

*Cum Socrates apud Platonem censet amorem esse pulchri desiderium, ad idcere debuerat, nisi fallor; Amanti nihil non pulchrum esse, quod Theocritus expressit, ἔρωτι τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πῖ-
παι.

touch of their goodnesse, but rather from a generall affectionate temper *Volendi valdè quicquid volunt*, of willing eagerly whatsoever they will at all; becommeth the shop of transforming or mispicturing Gods will revealed in his word, whiles they descend to actuall choyce of particulars proffered in their course of life. Men of this temper (saith S. Augustine) *Ita veritatem amant, ut velint vera esse quaecunq; amant*: Such lovers they are of truth, that they wish all might be true which they loue. And vehement desires often reiterated, multiply themselves into perswasions. Sometimes it may be they eagerly affect vnopposed truth for its owne sake, but withall more eagerly affect those sensuall pleasures, which most oppose it. Oftimes againe something in its nature truly good is mixed with or included in those particulars, which they strongly affect: and whiles this combination lasts; goodnesse it selfe is imbraced with them *ex accidente*. But being imbraced onely vpon these tearmes, when the same particulars, (after the combination is dissolved,) come accompanied with other distastfull adherents, it is loathed by them according to the degrees of former liking. *Socrates (sayth a witty Writer) when he defined loue to be a desire of that which was beautifull or comely, should haue given this Caveat withall; That nothing almost is in it nature so vnbeautifull or vncomely, but will seeme faire and louely, so it might haue a lovers eye for its looking glasse. But Socrates his meaning was perhaps better than this witty Writers apprehension, and was (if I mistake not his Dialect) this; That not every desire of any seeming good or comely appearances, but onely that desire, which is
fer

set on goodnesse, beautie, or comelinesse it selfe, is to be graced with the title of *loue*. Howbeit loue or desire thus set, cannot secure affectionate tempers from being tossed or shaken with sense-pleasing opportunities or temptations.

3. That our Saviours advise is to be followed before any contrary counsell, is a point to cleare, as no Christian can deny the obedience of speculative assent vnto it: yet many men, almost every man, in matters of practise, prejudiciall to their private interests, will traverse the meaning, whether of his clearest Maximes or most peremptory Mandates. His reply to *Martha* complaining of her sister for not helping her to intertaine him; [*Martha, Martha, Thou art carefull and troubled about many things; but one thing is needfull. And Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.* Luk. chap. 10. vers. 41, 42.] includes a Maxime of sacred vie, and will warrant this Aphorisme; [That a life privileged with vacancie from secular employments for better meditation on heavenly matters, is the most compendious course to that endlesse life, which every Christian proposeth as the sole end of this wearisome pilgrimage.] Were our hearts constant in themselves, and stedfastly settled vpon the former generall truth; it were impossible our inclination or assent to it, should not be swayed as strongly to the practises subordinate. Doth then our inclination or assent remove from the former generall, whiles it beares off from these or like particular practises? Yes; and would draw our soules to contradictory Atheisme, did they not by a nimble trick of sophistical inversion, retire backwards by a con-

Sectio. 5.

trary way vnto the points, from which they shrink. Their recovered assent or adherence to former generalities, may in some sence be rather accounted the same, then altogether diverse. So might the Marriners neede be more truely said to be fixed vpon the same points, rather then diverted from them, albeit that end, which was set vpon the South-pole, were instantly turned vnto the North. The naturall situation of the former generall assent was thus; [*The true sence and meaning of our Saviours advise is alwayes best, and to be followed before any contrary counsell.*] But when free choyce of opposite particulars is presented, it turnes thus; [*That which is the best course and most to be followed, is certainly such, as our Saviours words, truely understood, doe advise vnto.*] The assent is in effect the same, onely inverted. But from this inversion wee vsually draw Iustifications or Apologies for our most sinister choyces. The ambitious minde from the inverted generall assent, thus assumes; [*Practicall employments for preferment (my opportunities and qualifications considered) are the best course I can take, either for mine owne or others good: wherefore our Saviours advise to Martha, rightly limited or interpreted, is no way aduersant to my intended choyce.* And if he can light of other sacred passages, which mention the advancement of Gods Saints to civill dignities; as *Daniells* wearing a purple robe, and furtherance of the Churches cause by his high place in the Court; these he takes as sealed warrants to authorize his ambitious desires or selfe-exalting projects.

4. How many vnbeneficed men in our times haue with great zeale and presumed fervencie of that spirit,
by

by which holy Scriptures were written, preached damnation against pluralities of benefices; afterwards allured by the sweet of one to swallow more, and not so content, to condemne their former opinion as conceived from schismaticall expositions of Scriptures worthy of excommunication? What was the reason? In want or discontent, they were perswaded, that if no Clergie man should haue more livings than one, they might hope to haue one at least amongst their neighbours. And the necessitie of this doctrine being to them, as they were now affected, the better, was apprehended by equall strength of the same affection, as the more true and warrantable by Gods word. But their appetite, first sharpened by want, being once fed with the fat of one, did inflame their desires with vndoubted hope of more good, likely to redound from two or more. And because their first opinions or resolutions included lesse hopefull meanes or matter of contentment to their present desires, it was to be condemned as vntrue, or lesse probable, than this, which they now embrace; especially in that the former had been conceived by them, when they were scarce men, or men of meane place, or little experience in the world; worse by three hundred pound a yeare, than now they are.

5. To maintaine their opinions with cracking flashes of burning zeale, or to overlash in commendations of mens persons, is a temper in young men especially, very suspitious, and more truely argues abundance of ambitious humour or vnpurified affection, than any degree of sincere loue to truth or goodnesse. For this reason, when either their purposes or affecti-
ons

Sec^{ti}o. 5. ons change, they are so ready to sing *Canticum novum*, ditties so strangely contrary to their late passionate songs, that no devise can better emblazen the inconstancy of their boysterously blind perswasions, than *Polyphemus*, as the Poet pictures him in his woeing fit;

*Candidior folio nivei Galatea ligustri,
Floridior prato, longa procerior alno,
Spendidior vitro, tenero lascivior hado,
Levior assiduo detritis aequore chonchis,
Solibus hybernis, aestiva gratior umbra,
Nobilior pomis, Platano conspectior alta,
Lucidior glacie, maturâ dulcior vva,
Mollior & cygni plumis, et lacte coactō;
Et si non fugias, riguo formosior horto:*

This was his note, whiles his loue did kindle in hope: much changed with alteration of his possibilities;

*Sevior indomitis eadem Galatea iuvenis,
Durior annosa quercu, fallacior undis,
Lentior & salicis virgis, & vitibus albis,
His immobilior scopulis, violentior amne,
Laudato Pavone superbior, acrior igne,
Asperior tribulis, feta truculentior vrsa,
Surdior aquoribus, calcato immitior hydro.
Et, quod precipue (si possem) demere vellem,
Non tantum cervo claris latratibus actō,
Verum etiam ventis volucrisq; fugacior aura.*

6. Is it not a miserable condition, whereunto the vnconstancy of humane passions seekes to bring the
in-

inflexible rule of truth, vsually wrested to hold as exact consort with our Palinodies or recantations, as with our first approved lessons; although the one be more dissonant to the other, than the latter part of *Polyphæmus* his song was to the former. For without some apprehension of consort with Gods word, no dogmaticall assertion can be conceived or maintained as true, by any Christian, though a Christian onely in his owne conceit. So true it is which was before generally observed and often intimated, that even the worst of Heathenish humors for the most part alter onely their course, not their nature, in those parts of the world, which of heathens haue turned Christians. As the Sea-water is no lesse salt in the reciprocation or stanch, than while it boyles or over-flows the bankes. And, if it be not tedious to resume the burden of this discourse; *As the common notion of Gods goodnesse occasioned the heathen to conceit every procurer of any good much affected for a God: so this affectionate loue of divine truths in generall, fastens our unpurified persuasions vnto whatsoever we vehemently loue or much affect, as to a truth divine, or practice either warranted or commended to vs by the word of God.* Loue or hatred towards any object divine or humane, if it be unpurified, affectionate, or excessive, is alwayes prone either to slander divine iustice, where men are faultie, or to misencensure mens actions in cases overruled by divine iustice. * *Præmuis* doting affection towards his vnlawfull daughter-in-law miswayed his minde to accuse the gods as authors or direct causes rather than to suspect her as any occasion of the evils, which he feared or suffered. And that unpurified affection, which ma-

* Πρίαμος
δ' Ελένην
ἐχαλένατο
φωνῶν,
Δευρο πά-
ροισ' ἐλθῆ-
σα, φίλον
τίκος, ἰξευ-
τμῖο, ὄφρα
ιδῆς πρότε-
ρόν τι πῶσιν
πυθῶσι, φί-
λῳ εἴη; ὅστι
μοι αἰτία
ἐπὶ, θεός
νόμος αἰτι-
οῖ εἶσιν, οἱ
μοι ἐφωρ-
μήσαν πῶ-
λεμον πο-
λύδακρυ
, Ἀχαιῶν.
Homs. Ili.
Par. 1.
ny Pag. 112.

Sectio. 5.

ny beare vnto truths or goodnesles divine confusedly apprehended, will not suffer them to see or acknowledge Gods speciall providence in their punishments. Ready they are at all assayes to inveigh against, or meditate revenge vpon their brethren for chastisements appointed to them by the finger of God, though executed by the hand of man. God is too good to be the author of evill vnto them, though of evill onely temporall. That is, in the true resolution of their secret thoughts, they are so well perswaded of themselves, that nothing to their apprehension is borne or bent to doe them harme, besides the envy or malice of other men. Every portion of Scripture, which reproveth or forbids malice, doth by their interpretation in this taking, condemne all such of malice or envy, as any way vexeth or displeaseth them.

7. What poysonous humor can wee condemne in any Heathen, whose very dregges are not incorporated in the grand tyrannous monster of our times, *faction* I meane with its members. To eares animated with the spirit of this blind beast, the least iarre in opinion, though concerning matters of greater difficultie than consequence, and better able to abide long search than speedy determination, sounds as a deadly heresie, alreadie condemned by Gods owne mouth. Not to consort with these men in their occasionlesse vociferations against others presumed errors, is in their verdict, to be backward in religion, to renounce the vnitie of faith, to giue our hearts to the enemy. As he that in singing obserues due time or a constant tone, amongst such as regard neither, but following the eare, rise and fall with most or sweetest voyces, shall

shall by immuslicall hearers be censured as the author of discord. No sect or profession almost throughout any age, but hath beene haunted with one or other violent humor, with whose tincture if a man can cunningly temper or colour his discourses, he may vent whatsoever he pleaseth, albeit compounded of the very lces and refuse of that heresie, which he seemeth most to oppugne. Blasphemy breathed from some mens mouths, so it be spiced or interspersed with holy phrase, is suckt in as greedily by their followers as if it were the Spirit of life: the very poyson of Aspes distilling from others lippes, so it be tempered with the infusion or expression of propheticall fervencie in reproving sinne, doth relish to their factious consorts as the quintessence of zeale. Finally whilest one factious minde inveighs against his opposites, bitternesse it selfe becommeth sweete to his associates: but if an indifferent man, shall lift the doctrine, refute the error, or reprove the passions of the one or other; his discourses, though seasoned with the spirit of meekenesse, of sinceritie, and judgement, breeds a grievous disgust in both.

8. The true originall or roote of this accused partialitie, in putting good for evill, and evill for good, hony for gall, and gall for hony, will better appear from a more particular inquiry or Philosophicall search of the means by which it comes to passe; That the selfe same sence, or exposition of Scriptures, which ere whiles did most offend, should forthwith best please the very same parties. And lest I should give offence to any Christian Reader, the instance shall be chiefly in those, with whom all Christians are justly offended.

CHAPTER. XLVI.

Shewing by instances of sacred Writ, that the same sense of Gods word which sometimes most displeased, may shortly after most affect or please the selfe same parties: with the manner how this alteration is wrought.

I.



Ctually fruition of excessive pleasure either hinders the working, or dulls the apprehension of inherent griefe. So doth satisfaction of vehement desires (because most pleasant) drowne all taste of petty annoyances, and dead the impression of such vngreatfull qualities, as accompany the qualitie eagerly affected. Extremitie of thirst will make a man to be in charitie almost with any kinde of moysture, and cover a multitude of faults in drinke, of which no one but would be very offensive to a taste not misaffected. For thirst is but an appetite of cooling moysture, and this appetite being intended by violent heate or drinesse; the organ, wherein it resideth, takes no notice of any other quality, besides that which best contents it for the present. All others that accompany it, are well-come or passe vnquestioned for its sake, so the sence of cooling moysture be not abated by their presence. From a cause, in true Philosophie, much what the same, it is, that if one string be stiffely bent and another slacke, onely one doth sound, though both be touched. For the same reason violent passions, intensive desires, or strong affections, either straine out or sucke in onely so much of the sence of Scriptures,

as

as symbolizeth with themselves. Such circumstances, as in sober examination would make most against vs, leaue no impressiō in our mindes much bent vpon any private purpose. What could haue beene more offensive to the *Pharisees* (not moved with bitter opposition to the *Sadduces*) then *S. Pauls* doctrine of Christs appearance to him after his resurrection. The very mention of his appearance to him once in the way to *Damascus*, afterwards in the Temple, perswading him the second time to preach his resurrection to the *Gentiles*, had made them ere while cry out; *Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live**. But as the Philosopher sayth; τὸς ἐν δίσκῳ συνάγει ὁ κοινὸς φόβος, *Common dread will unite most disagreeing hearts*. For this reason professors of contrary opinions, (so both stedfastly hold the generall,) will joyne forces against the third, that contradicts or vndermines the common foundation. All inclination to exercise enmitie, is rooted in a hope or possibilitie of preserving proper entitie safe & entire. What could it then boote the *Pharisees* to brangle with *S. Paul* about Christs resurrection or appearance, whilest the *Sadduces* by denying all apparition of spirit or Angell, or hope of resurrection from the dead, did not so much oppugne him as the very foundation of their Religion? Vnto this passionate and vehement distast of the *Sadduces* doctrine, *Pauls* conformity with the *Pharisees* in birth, education, and generalitie of beliefe, doth relish so well, that his particular differences or dissensions from them no way disaffect them. He avouched expressly, that Christ whom they had crucified, did appeare vnto him; but they apprehended it to be after such

*Act. 22. 22

Sectio. 5. such a manner as Gods Angells did in times past to
 their fathers. Now this kind of appearance witnessed
 the truth of the *Pharisees* opinions, that there be spi-
 rits or Angells : and *Pauls* seasonable proffering of
 this testimony, doth so please their humour, that the
Scribes, which were on the *Pharisees* part, acquitted
 him by Proclamation, [*Wee finde no evill in this man ;*
but if a spirit, or Angell hath spoken vnto him, let vs not
fight against God. Act. 23. vers. 9. That thus farre they
 favoured him, was not out of true loue either to his
 person or any part of the truth he taught, but from
 loue of themselves and their opinions, from jealous
 impatency of contradiction in publique place by an
 inferior sect. So likewise we reade in the Gospell,
 when our Saviour from Gods word to *Moses* had most
 divinely proued the Resurrection ; [*I am the God of*
Abraham &c.] and fully satisfied a curious question
 so captiously proposed by the *Sadduces*, as would
 haue puzzled the greatest Rabbi amongst the *Pharisees*;
 certaine of them answered; [*Maister thou hast well said.*
Luk. 20. ver. 39.] They like well he should be a witnesse
 of the Resurrection, *that* being one speciall point,
 which their credit lay vpon to make good vnto the
 multitude against the *Sadduces* : but as ready they are
 to adjudge him to death, for avouching himselfe to
 be the great Iudge of such, as were raised from the
 dead ; howbeit his raising of himselfe from the dead,
 did proue his words to be most true ; and so would
 the manner of his appearance vnto *S. Paul* (which
 now they grant) haue clearly evinced both his Re-
 surrection and comming in glory vnto judgement,
 (whereof it was a transient, but reall representation)

so

Φιλοσυν
 τες' μισθ-
 μίνους ὅτι
 τῶν αὐτοῖς
 μισθμίων.
 Arist. Rhetor-
 icorum 2.
 cap. 4.


so their assent vnto *S. Paul* in that assembly had beene sincere and free, not forced by factious opposition to the *Sadduces*. The inconsequent issues of this generall truth acknowledged by them, testifie that their approbation of our Saviour, for being a witnesse of the resurrection, and their condemnation of him, for avouching himselfe judge of such as were raised from death, did issue from one and the same corrupt fountaine: from loue of authority over the people and applause of men; from a stubborne and envious desire to excell their opposites, and not to be excelled by any. With their affectiōs thus set, our Saviours doctrine indefinitely considered sometimes had coniunction, and then they mightily applaud him; but oftner opposition, and then *Polyphemus*-like they more maligned him.

2. Admit we could iustly acquit our selues from other points of Pharisaisme; that spirit of contention and waiward emulation, which this day raignes throughout Christendome, and rageth oftentimes no lesse in defence of good causes, then in maintaining or abetting bad, will as easily fet over such as retaine the generall or publique forme of sound doctrine, to concurre with heretiques or godlesse men in transforming particular places of Scripture, which make for private desires; as factious opposition to the *Sadduces* did the *Pharisees* to consent vnto our Saviour and to *S. Paul* in the points late mentioned; albeit they did detest the principall Articles, the very patterne of that beliefe, which they propagated to the world. That admonition to the *Philippians* as it concerns these times, as much as former; so doth it the

Se&io. 5. maintainers of true Religion most of any. The admonition was; *Let nothing be done through contention or vaine-glory, but that in meekenesse of minde every man esteeme other better than himselfe.* Phil. 2. 3.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Of dreaming fancies concerning the sense of Scripture in the Romanist, in the Jew, in the Separatist or Enthusiast.

I.  T were easie to instance in many controverſie Writers, which in hotte purſuite of their adverſaries haue ſwallowed downe paſſages of Scripture or other authorities, whoſe true ſente, if ſo liſted, as every circumſtance might make full impreſſion vpon their compoſed and ſetled apprehenſions, would be more againſt them, then for them; as their authors (no queſtion) agreed no better with the allegators doctrine, than *Paul* did with the *Phariſees*. The impertinent collections of Monkes and Fryars to proue Purgatorie from ſuch places of Scripture, as haue no other ſemblance with it, ſaue onely that they mention metaphoricall fire, would make an vnpartiall Reader call to minde (if ſo he had read it) the fable of the Apes, which eſpying a Glow-worme in a winters night, gathered ſtickes and blowed themſelues breathleſſe, to make them burne. Did not this imaginary flame produce ſuch a reall warmth to the malignant crue, as is able to hatch an extraordinary deſire of having the fire by what meanes ſoeuer ſtill maintained: impudency

dency it selfe would blush, and stupiditye tremble at their sencelesse petulancy in this argument. As the learned *Papist* hath no parallell (the *Jew* excepted) in this kinde ; so in the maine points of their Religion, as in the doctrines concerning the authoritie of the Church, and the sacrifice of the Masse, they doe not goe so much beyond others, as besides themselves. The waight or consequence of the matters contained in the mentioned controversies, breeds an extreme desire to haue their profitable tenents countenanced by sacred authoritie ; and extremitie of desire, an vn-satiable thirst or greedinesse of lucking & wringing those Texts of Scripture, which in colour of words or literal shew doe seeme at first sight to make somewhat for them, but in truth and substance manifest the poyson of their doctrine, and argue their eager appetite in maintaining it to be a spice or symptome of spirituall madnesse. To proue the sacrifice of the Masse, some not content to vrge that of the Prophet, [*And they shall offer a pure oblation to me in all places ;*] or *Melchisedekes* offering consecrated bread and wine, (which being once granted would everlastingly over-throw it ;) would perswade vs the latine *Missae* was coyned in the Hebrew mint from מַסַּח *Masas*, which in the first signification imports as much as to blow ; whence the Verball מַסַּח *Missah* in a secondary sence signifieth tribute or Pole-money. The implication is, the very name of the *Masse* imports that this oblation or sacrifice is Gods tribute, to be paid vnto him as duely as *Peter-pence* is to the Pope. Their owne acknowledgement of this doting fancy in some of their writers leaues a suspition, whether it were a true relation,

Sectio. 5. rather then a meere iest put vpon that ignorant Priest, who being put to finde the word *Masse* in the Scriptures, after a long and wearisome search, when he was ready to glue over or fall asleepe, lighting vpon those words in the first of *Iohn*, [*Inuenimus Messiam*] cryed out; *Wee haue found the Masse; we haue found the Masse* to the confusion of the Heretiques.

2. I know not whether the Prophets interpretations of dreames and visions were of greater force to perswade the Heathen, that the spirit of the immortall Gods did dwell in them, than such dreaming interpretations as latter *Iewes* doe make of Prophecies or other diuine Oracles, are or might be of for confirming Christians beliefe, that the Lord hath sent a spirit of slumber vpon them; so like they are in their comments or meditations vpon Scriptures concerning Christ, vnto such as dreame. The same phantasmes which by floting in our braines breed dreames by night, present themselves to our waking thoughts by day; but want opportunitie to deceiue; so long as our eyes and eares are open to receiue forraigne information. But whiles the externall senses, which serue as witnesses, and that principall internall sense which sittes as chiefe Magistrate in the inferior part of the soule are surprized by sleepe; the vaineft fancies the braine can represent, passe for currant without examination or checke. The phantasie or common sense is as credulous of their suggestions or obtrusions, as illiterate, ignorant, or vnexperienced people are of counterfeit commissions or pretended warrants. As at this instant, though I think of my good friends in *London*, yet the sight of *Oxford* and other vndoubted pledges of

of my presence in this place, wherein I am, will not suffer my soule to be miscarried with false imaginations of being elsewhere; whereas whiles the gates of these outward senses are shut, and the passages from the principall sense internall or examinative facultie stopped; the modell of that famous Cittie roulding in my fantasie would forthwith breede an imagination that I were in it in their presence, whole image or representation onely is present with me. Vpon appearances altogether as light and frivolous, are the *Jewes* transported from Christ, now fully manifested and presented to them, to imbrace such shadowes or prefigurations of him, as had fallen out in the dayes of their Patriarkes or ancient Kings. No man that reades their writings, but will perceine many phantasmes or modelles of Evangelicall truth swimming in their heads: but the vaile being laid before their hearts disenables their iudgements for distinguishing figures from substances, or apparitions from realities.

3. The reliques of orthodoxall truths, which vnto this day worke in this heartlesse peoples braines, would be sufficient to forme Christ crucified in the hearts of Heathens, not given vp to a reprobate sense. For example, that practicall pre-notion, *Gebher hath sinned & Gebher must be punished*, wheron they ground their ceremonies in the feast of atonement; being construed according to its literall and naturall sense, is in effect the same with that divine Oracle, *As by man came death, so by man came the resurrection of the dead*, or with that fundamentall Article of our beliefe, *that man was to satisfie for the sinnes of men*. But the passages of these latter *Jewes* internall senses, being lockt vp in

Seccio. 5. a deeper slumber in the day of their solemne feasts, then our externall senses are in the dead of the night, the cleare representatiō of the former Christian truth, makes no impressiō in their heart, but vanisheth into a heathenish dreame. Like so many men that vse to walke and raue in their sleepe, they vnwittingly act our Saviours sufferings after the manner of an Interlude,* putting *Gebher*, which in their Rabbinicall language signifieth a Cock, for meere affinitie of name (for *Gebher* in Hebrew signifieth a man,) vnto all the tortures they can devise; adding withall, that every *Gebher*, every man amongst them, deserues to be so dealt withall, as they deale with this poore creature. Nor is any creature of this kind so fit for this purpose in their fantasie, as a white one. Their severall phantasmes or pre-notions concerning this mystery, rightly put together and examined by vigilant thoughts, signifie thus much, that the matter of the sacrifice by which the atonement for mans sin was to be wrought, was to be a *Gebher*, a man without blemish or spot of sinne.

* Vide Bux-
dorf. Syna-
goga Iudaic.
cap. 20.

4. If any prophetic include the least historicall reference or allusion to *Abraham*, to *Moses*, *David*, or *Solomon* (as the first draught almost of every Prophecie is some former History) this is a motiue sufficient to these blinde guides to interpret the place as wholly meane of these types alone: Christ who is the body therein presented (God blessed forever, which vpholdeth all things by the power of his word, the very Center, (though they perceiue it not,) whereon their soules doe rest,) hath no more place in our thoughts, than the bed wherein we lye, hath in our night ima-
gi-

ginations of walking or talking with our friends either deceased or farre absent. Every metaphor or resemblance borrowed from things visible, as mouldes for fashioning our conceits of matters spirituall or invisible to be accomplished in the life to come, make these miserable wretches quite forget the estate as well wherein they are, as whence they are fallen, and cast them into pleasant dreames of glorious Monarchies or Kingdomes here on earth; still bragging as if they expected every next morning should be their coronation day; as if they would make the world beleue the Sunne did daily rise to grace or attend their reespousalls to their glorious God.

These are the offspring of those, sometimes virgins, but foolish ones, who having out-slept the time of the Bridegroomes comming, haue not till this day beene able to reparaire their lampes; but since his departure haue sat in perpetuall darknesse, bringing forth children in such deepe mid-night sleepe, that the slumber cannot to this day be shaken out of their eyes, nor their braines delivered of this hereditary drowsinesse.

5. Many partakers they haue in this phrensie from originalls much what the same or very like. For from a reason not much vnlike vnto the cause of dreames it is, that externall noyses oftentimes consort so well with internall musings, as if the one were but the tunc and the other the dittie, or one the base and the other the treble. Perhaps the sound either starts some notion afresh, or causeth vs in this temper to resume our former thoughts, whence we imagine it tels vs, as it were, by word of mouth, what it onely suggests by naturall

Sectio. 5. motion. And sometimes as if we meant to save our selves a labour or spare our breath, which would be spent in speaking, we tacitely articulate the sounds of bells, or other tuneable bodies, as if they did audibly speak what we inwardly muse. Musing and dreaming are of neare alliance; the fancy in both is apt to weave in every circumstance or occurrent, that hath the least semblance or connexion with the principall matter represented or thought vpon. In dreames the principall or judicative sense is so bound with sleepe, that it cannot examine intimations given by the fantasie. In musing the phantasie is so contracted within it selfe, that it can neither receiue instructions from the vnderstanding, nor giue it perfect information from representations made by externall senses. But from what originall soever these erroneous imaginations or fallacies proceed, they insinuate themselves after the same manner into such as dreame, and such as rather muse than meditate vpon Scripture. Nor is there any other meanes to prevent their insinuations, besides vigilant and attentive alacritie, to sift and examine every circumstance, by setting our imaginations a- worke to counterway our extemporary conceites or apprehensions with all contrary inducements possible. He that thinks on nothing, but on confirming his owne conclusions or apprehensions, will quickly perswade himselfe, the word of God (specially if he heare it alledged, or see it quoted by others,) speaks just so, as he thinks, and proffers it selfe as a witnesse to giue testimony *viva voce* to the truth of his present cogitations. To the superstitious Palmester or Chirromancer that saying of *Moses*, *Exod. 13.* [*And it shall be*

be a ſigne vnto thee vpon thine hand &c.] and that in *Iob. cap. 37. verſ. 7* [*Qui in manu omnium hominum ſignat, vt norint omnes opera ſua,*] ſound as fundamentall theoremes of the art which he profeſſeth, that is, of making ſuch prognostications of all the changes and chaunces incident to this mortall life by inſpection of the lines or wrinkles in the palmes of mens handes, as the Astrologer doth change of weather, or of mens fates or fortunes, by obſerving the poſitions or aſpect of ſtarres. Generally braines apt to buſie themſelves with curious thoughts or ſcrupuloſities, frame ſuch compositions of ſacred lines, as men in phrenſie or other like grievous diſtemper, do out of ſcrabled walls or painted cloaths. The one makes fooliſh or monſtrous pictures of true colours; the other drawes ſenſelleſſe and ridiculous inferences out of divine and ſupernaturall Antecedents. Vnleſſe I had compared the marginall quotations of ſome Anabaptiſticall and ſchiſmaticall diſcourſes with the Text, and both with the concluſions intended by their authors; I ſhould hardly haue conceived it as poſſible for a man to ſpeake nothing but Goſpell, and yet to ſpeak ſcarce a true or wiſe word.

6. This kinde of dreaming temper in many, hinders the breaking out of the former generall ſeedes of error, vnto whoſe workings inwardly it vſually affords advantage and opportunitie. Deſire of proper excellency is a diſeaſe hardly cured in any, and oft-times workes moſt indefatigably, where it workes moſt ſecretly. In many it ſeemes altogether mortified, when it is onely ſtiſned by being cut ſhorter, or gathers ſtrength by contraction to a ſmaller roome.

To

Section. 5. To excell others in many points, men of this disposition will not strive; to be excelled in most, they can suffer with patience. Gods gifts of wit, of learning, and judgement they will admire & magnifie as much as any, in others, whose industrie and opportunities of increasing their talent in sacred negotiations they cannot but acknowledge greater, then their owne: yet will they not in conclusion be perswaded, that any man not of their owne sect or disposition, knowes so much of Gods eternall will & purpose, as they doe. Others generall skill in Scriptures, if it be great, is for this reason alone, suspected to be vnsanctified. The stronger the reasons brought against them be, the forwarder are they to appeale from reason vnto Scripture, as if grace did abolish as well the life or remnant of natures integritie, as her corruptions; as if Gods law or written word did rather obliterate, than refine & quicken the imperfect characters or liewelle lineaments of natures law written in our hearts. Thus to abandon the helpe of Arts and naturall reason, in this search they haue good reason, if wee respect the end, whereat their desires covertly ayme. For Arts and reason being once excluded from examination or tryall of sacred mysteries, their irrationall and furd conceits of Scriptures sense in particulars, which they stand vpon, may be as well esteemed, as the most forcible deductions, that can be drawne from the fundamentall *Maximes* of Religion, or conclusions exactly & remonstratiuely parallel'd to the rule of faith. If allegations of sacred authority might once by multitude of mens voices thus affected, be taken by number rather, than by waight; to refute the Anabaptist, the

the Separatist, or maintainers of other moderne errors, would be a matter so much the harder, as the refuter is more judicious. For the better his judgement is, the more accurately will he search, or sift such circumstances, as at first sight wedde these mens persuasions to their owne dreames or fancies. To avoyde their fallacies, the Reader is to remember that their modestie in some cases no way acquits them from imputation of extreme pride and insolency in many points of Christianitie. Few there be so transcendently conceited of themselves, but will yeeld to knowne professors of those faculties, wherein they are not conversant. So on the other side not many there are, that will not stand vpon their skill in those particulars, whereto they haue beene wholly addicted, or long employed in. It is no marvaile then, if such, as for expounding greatest mysteries haue wholly betaken themselves to the spirit, or to mens labours whom they presume to be thoroughly sanctified, doe as lightly esteeme the opinion of greatest scholars, auncient or moderne, in divine mysteries, as they highly magnifie their wit, and judgement in artificiall learning or sacred generalities. For matters of sanctification, of election and salvation, are as the onely trade or facultie, which these men professe, and of which they deeme their owne corporation onely free; others not fit to be consulted, or at least their voyces not to be taken, vntill they haue served the like compleate apprenticeship to their supposed spirit, or beene as long professors of the pure Word alone, renouncing all commerce with naturall reason. They are more offended with their followers for having recourse to it, than

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than ordinary tradesmen are with their servants or apprentices for haunting Alehouses, Tavernes, or worse places.

7. Their first intention, I am verily perswaded, is to magnifie Gods grace, more then others (to their thinking) doe. Now it is a Maxime as plausible as true, that Gods graces can never be magnified too much by any. But it is a fault common almost to all, to doe many things much amisse before we haue done them halfe enough. The wisest oft miscarry in their projects; these men erre in their very first attempts, their very intentions are mislevelled, in that they thinke there is no direct way to grace but by declining helps of art or gifts of nature. The first and immediate issue of this perswasion, (thus seeking to nurse a perpetuall irreconcilable faction betwixt Scripture and reason, to magnifie grace by nullifying nature and art) is that every action which is not warranted by some expresse rule of Scripture, apprehended by grace, is *non ex fide*, *not of faith*, (whose onely compleate rule is scripture;) and being not of faith, it must be a sinne; so that these two propositions; [1. all actions warranted by the expresse word of God must needs be lawfull] 2. all lawfull actions must needs be warranted by the expresse word of God,] differ no more in their Logicke, then this verse read forward, doth from it selfe read backward, for Grammaticall sense,

Odo tenet mulum madidam mappam tenet anna.


And after once (out of a scrupulous feare to sinne in any action by following reason without expresse warrant of Scripture for the particular) they haue for a while

while accustomed themselves to leuell every action or saying, and to square each thought by some expresse suteable rule of Scripture: the Scripture and their thoughts or apprehensions become so intwined, that in fine they are perswaded whatsoever they haue don, thought, or spoken, in matters concerning God or Christians duties, is warranted by some expresse rule or other of sacred Writ. Whose testimonies for the most part, they vse no otherwise then men in high place and authoritie, often vse the *placets* or suffrages of their inferiors, to countenance their peremptory designs by way of ceremony or formalitie: which if they doe not voluntarily, they shall doe at length against their wills. Concerning the true meaning of that Maxime, *Whatsoever is not of faith is sinne*, we haue * elsewhere delivered our opinion. The Scripture we grant to be the compleate and perfect rule of faith, to be the onely rule likewise of planting the roote or habite, whence all good actions or resolutions must grow. It is not the onely rule for rectifying every particular branch in the growth. These must be rectified by necessary or probable deductions which reason or rules of art sanctified by the habit of faith frame out of Scriptures or sacred Maximes.

* In the second booke vpon the Creede, first Section.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Of the more particular and immediate causes of all the fore-mentioned errors or misperwasions.

- I.  O giue one prime Philosophicall cause of all or most morall misperwasions or transfigurations of sacred Oracles, is perhaps onely possible to the cause of causes.

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Distemper
is a kinde of
motiō, and
the greater
the distem-
per of the
organ is,
the more
apt it is to
be agitated
by the ob-
ject.

causes. Two Maximes nevertheless there be vndoubtedly experienced in matters naturall, from which, as from two principall heads, the maine streame of errors doth most directly spring, though much increased by confluence of such fallacies, as haue beene deciphered. The Maximes are; one [*Intus apparens prohibet alienum*] common in Philosophicall Schooles; the other [*Mota facilius moventur*] as well knowne, and of as great vse amongst the Mathematickes, or such as write Mathematically of Mechanicall instruments. The efficacie of every agent resultes from the fit disposition of the patient; whence it is, that the internall distemper or indisposition of the organ will not admit the proper stampe or impression of any externall, though its proper object. Not that any distemper can so prevent the force or any indisposition so dead the agencie of the object, as it shall not moue and agitate the organ, or, that it is possible for the organ being moued or agitated by externall objects, to be altogether barren. For the very motion of it is a kinde of conception. But the organ being prepossessed by abundance of heterogeneous matter mingled with it, the impression or conception proues like the monstrous brood, of males and females of diuerse kindes. And the more vehemently the organ is agitated, the more sensible is the representation or apprehension of the inherent humors; and in as much as the object is rightly apprehended as the cause of this actuall motion or representation, it is likewise judged (but amisse) to be such it selfe, as the motion or representation, which it worketh. Thus we sometimes mis-gather those things (the Sunne for example) to be

be hote themselves, which produce heate in others; those to be colde, which cause sense of colde; those moyst, which leaue an impression of moisture where none was or was vnfelt before their operation. Yet is the Moone neither colde nor moyst in its selfe, although the true cause of coldnesse or moistning in subiects, aptly disposed to either qualitie. Braines stuffed with *cold* will easily suspect fragrant or vnknowne odoriferous perfumes of the lothsome smell, which indeed they cause by provoking the putrified phlegme to imprint its selfe vpon the organ. As the Sunne shining through a red glasse transports the rednesse vpon the eye, and being the immediate cause of the actuall representation now made, is judged to be of the same hue. So externall colours presented to eyes subiect to suffusion, or possessed with reall effluxions of other visibles, cause a representation of those internall humors in the organ, whence colours externall, being the true cause of our present actuall sight, we deeme them to be like vnto the internall humors, which are seene. Many like irritations of the flesh are vsually caused by the spirit, seeking to imprint the right sence or Character of Gods word, could the polluted heart or minde infected with preiudicate opinions, admit the impression. But carnall lusts, or implanted phantasies, being by this meanes set on working, conceiue a depraved sense, or a sense quite contrary to the spirits meaning, and yet imagine it to be suggested by the word of God; onely because it concurreth to the actuall producing of such humors or phantasies.

2. There is no error, but hath its nutriment from truth,

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truth, in whose roore it is engrafted like a wilde plant in a naturall stocke: no vice, but hath similitude in part with one or other vertue. Now where vice or bad habits doe abound, no character of any morall vertue, or precept divine can leaue any true stampe or compleate impression of it selfe: well may it moue, or tickle the predominant humour, with which it symbolizeth in part. The covetous and niggardly disposition will solace it selfe with precepts of frugalitie, and this solace taken in a conceited conformitie to the rule of life, doth stiffen him in his wonted sinne. The commendations of ingenuitie or freedome of spirit sympathize well with braue resolute mindes, as they doe in part with stubbornnesse or selfe-will, and the applause which the stubborne or selfe-willed take in this their partiall sympathie with the temper of Saints or holy men, works a delight in them to glory in their shame. So the prayse of valour or courage in good causes is as a watch-word to foole-hardinesse, which once started will admit no curbe or restraint from any sacred precept commending warinesse or ingenuous feare. The approbation given by Gods word to excessive zeale or indignation swelling vpon iust occasions, oftentimes provokes malicious dispositions to vent their bitternesse in a kinde of affected imitation of Saints. Now not onely all imitation of counterfeit goodnesse, but all counterfeit imitation of true goodnesse, will in the end bring forth true and real naughtinesse. Generally as the word of life and grace where it fructifies, doth translate our naturall dispositions into goodnesse supernaturall: so the opinion or presumption of having our actions warranted, or our dis-

dispositions countenanced from Gods word or will revealed, doth sublimare all corruptions by nature inherent, or acquired by custome, into a degree of evill more then naturall.

3. These grosse preposterous misconstructions admit no set bounds or limits of increase or waning besides the different degrees or qualities of the humour, whence they spring. As excessive intemperance breeds an hate or loathing of divine goodnesse, and disposeth to an amitie with hell: so in others rightly perswaded as well of the truth of the Deitie, as of the veracitie of his written word indefinitely conceived, some particular rootes of bitternesse may be so venomous and malignant, as will cause them to cast aspersions of blasphemie vpon the salvificall sense of these sacred oracles, and to devise contrary misconstructions prompted onely by the lusts and corruptions of the flesh. Choler in some men, though abundant, is forthwith pacified with placid behaviour or gentle language; but in others is so peevish and fretfull, as maketh them interpret all addressements to pacifications to be but mockerie. That, which at other times to them, or at all times to other men, would be reputed *affabilitie*, is, in the heate of present distemper, *flatterie*: what others would take for true submission, or be glad to entertaine as a serious proffer of reconciliation, whiles this humor is stirred, is dissimulation or subtiltie to entrap them. The reason of such uncharitable misconstructions is the same which was given before. Whatsoever is *obvious* to thoughts inwardly perplexed or grieved, is apprehended as evill, because it revives or exasperates the cause of griefe;

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and being apprehended as irkesome to their present dispositions, the vnderstanding or fancie must play the Parasites, and make good such imputations, as the predominate humor layes vpon the object. Others words or gestures alwayes provoke some motion in vs, and with the motion, some humor or other is set on working. Now if the humor be tart or bitter, the motion of it will be vnpleasant to the partie, in whom it resides. For this reason men sickly or cholericke prosecute all, that speake to them, or whatsoever moues the fretting humor, with the same dislike they haue of it, or their internall grieuances *thus* occasioned. All is one whether the speech or behaviour be faire or foule, so the irkesome disposition be exasperated, which sometimes is more offended with the antipathie of affabilitie or proffered courtesie, than with churlish or boysterous opposition of the like temper in others. For being boysterously opposed it either relents or findes opportunitie to exonerate it selfe, and spend its venome by vehemencie of provoked motion; but gathers strength by fretting inwardly at their speech or gestures which vnseasonably endeavour to allay it: as the Spring-sunne by stirring humors being not able to draw them out or digest them, produceth agues. Some tempers of minde in like sort there be, very apt to be offended with diuine truth either bluntly, obscurely, doubtfully, or vnseasonably propounded, and yet as ready to be friends with it distinctly and placidly represented. Others are so tainted with the sower leaven of Pharisaisme, that the more euidēt the truth is made, or more plausibly delivered vnto them, the more bitterly they maligne it
and

and the propoiers of it ; for the inward grieve of a
 worne-bitten conscience doth more disquiet the
 soule and spirit, than any choler can doe the body or
 animal facultie. Thus the high Priest rent his cloathes
 at our Saviours interpretation of that place in *Daniel* :
 [*Hereafter shall ye see the Sonne of man.*] as if he had
 spoken blasphemie. Albeit his manner of delivering
 this divine truth, manifest enough to sober exami-
 nours, were most placid, and in tearmes mitigated be-
 low the tenour of a direct answer to the question pro-
 posed. Had he prophesied to haue made them Kings,
 or vpon opportunitie of his late triumphant enter-
 tainment, interpreted the Prophets words of himselfe
 then comming, as their Generall to outbraue the
Romanes with golden shieldes or glittering ar-
 mour, he might haue gained that ap-
 plause, which they afterward gaue
 to *Herod* ; *Non vox homi-*
nis, sed Dei.



SECTION VI.

Of qualifications requisite for conceiving aright of the divine Nature and his Attributes.

CHAPTER. XLIX.

The generall qualification or first ground for preventing misconceits of the Divine Nature or Attributes, is purification of heart.

I.



He Heathens grossely either multiply or misfigure the divine Nature; we varnish their vnslightly pictures, or conjoyne their distracted representations: both misproportion or deface him in his Attributes. Now

as it is the corruption of nature, wherein we communicate too deeply with the Heathen, which maketh vs partakers of their sins: so shall we proue our selues more vnexcusable by much, then they were, vnlesse their example excite in vs religious care and alacritie to vse those meanes, which many of them by light of nature, (questionlesse without the internall light of grace) saw to be necessary for attaining the true

Seccio.6. knowledge of the Deitie. To the better sort of them it was a cleare truth and a received Maxime; *That as*
" the Sunne cannot be seene without its owne light, so God
" could not be knowne without his illuminations: That by these illuminations profered to all the most part were not in any degree inlightned for want of internal preparation. The preparation or disposition by them required, was purification of the soule. Of excellent passages to this purpose *Trismegist, Plato* with his followers, *Plotine* specially, and amongst the Romanes *Seneca*, are very fertile. Their consonancies to Christian truth are gathered by many, briefly by *Pansa*, and some other late Writers, whom I commend vnto the Reader for no other end, but that he may be commended or directed by them to these authors themselves, worthy to be lookt into by the most eagle-sighted Divines of our times. Admit they cannot communicate to vs the light of saving truth, with whose comfortable rayes their soules were never refreshed, nor their mindes enlightened: yet should I take him either for more then a man, even a coelestiall Saint on earth, or for a lazy droane, that will not condemne himselfe for slouth or dullnesse in apprehension of God or his goodnesse; so he will but vnpartially compare his owne conceites or affections with these mens, allowing the oddes as well of the more excellent meanes which he hath to finde, as of the encouragements incomparably more glorious given him to search out the hidden *Manna*, that secret joy of heart or exultation of spirit, which alwayes resulteth from true contemplation of the first truth, or from the deaw of this fountaine of goodnesse. And if whiles

we seeke a rule or stay to our vnderstandings, lest they slide into error, we desire withall a spurre vnto deuotion; the vsuall professors of Schoole-divinitie come as farre short of these heathen Theologists, and their Christian expositors in this later service, as they goe beyond them in the former.

2. *Plotins* frequent interspersion of much divine matter throughout most his Philosophicall discourses, often makes me doubt, whether familiaritie with *Origen* did not draw him to some acquaintance with Christian mysteries; howsoever he sought to forme them in Philosophicall mouldes, and set forth stollen fragments of the food of life with Platonicall sawce. By what meanes then may the soule in this mans judgement be elevated to contemplate the vnprizeable beantie, which hath her dwelling in the sacred closetts, and gaddes not abroad, lest profane eyes might gloate vpon her? Not to question how well he spake them, or how farre he did assent vnto them; these, and the like speeches of his (very pertinent to our present argument) inferre a divine truth out of Philosophicall principles. *If the eye be either infected with bad humors, dull or weakened for want of spirits, the brightnesse of the objects presented, breeds a dimnesse, and disenables it for seeing, what otherwise might easily be seene. The spectator must be made like the spectacle; nor could any eye see the Sunne, were it not by naturall constitution Sunne-like: No more can the minde vnlesse purified, behold the fountaine of puritie: whence he must be divine or deiformed, that meanes to see God, or the patterne of beantie.* Plot. lib. 6. Ennead. 1. Whether to his soule morally or Philosophically purified, thus much was represented

Sectio. 6. sented by the light of nature; or whether admitted to
 looke into the fountaine of truth or law of libertie,
 he thus farre approved it while he looked vpon it:
 the summe of his collections was delivered by him,
 who alone had seene God, and declared him vnto the
 world. *Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God**.
 In the perfection of this vision consists the fulnesse of
 our felicitie in the life to come, of which felicitie not-
 withstanding all in this life may in some measure be
 partakers, by seeing him in his word and in his onely
 sonne: *He that hath seene me hath seene my father. How
 then sayst thou Philip; Shew vs the father**? But did all
 see the sonne, that lookt vpon him? If they did not,
 how was he the true light, that enlighteneth every man
 that cometh into the world? In as much as the world
 was made by him, his light was spread throughout
 it; *He shineth still in darknesse, though the darknesse com-
 prehendeth him not.* Ioh. 1. vers. 5. This darknesse in
 Plotins language is the adventitious filth or rust, which
 before purification be wrought, adheres to the hu-
 mane soule, and makes it vncapable of any illumina-
 tion from the fountaine of light.

* Math. 5.
vers. 8.

* Ioh. 14.
vers. 9.

CHAPTER L

What purification of heart may be expected and sought after, before the line-image of God be renewed in vs. Of the directions given by Heathen Philosophers for attaining to this purification, or to perfect knowledge by it. Wherein their directions are defectiue.

I. **B**Ut admitting the purified hart hath the promise of blessing, as well in this life, as in the other to come; who shall haue interest in the promise? for who can say; My heart is cleane? As justification; so the purification, whereof we treat, is two-folde;

1. From the raigne or dominion of sinne.
2. From all reliques or commixture of sinne.

Of the latter purification, in this life none can be, of the former all the faithfull must be partakers. But even faith it selfe, before it can be liuely and sound, must in order of *nature* (perhaps, of *time*) be sincere and true: and vnto the meere truth of it, the right knowledge or apprehension of the object is alwayes precedent. Whence it becomes questionable, what degree or manner of purification is requisite to the right knowledge of God or his attributes: these, in the method proposed to vs by the authors of this Creede, being the first articles or objects of our belife.

2. May we in this case, as in the like before, admit of a two-folde cleansing or purification; one morall, or right onely in its kinde, but farre short of accepta-
tion

Sectio.6.

tion in it selfe, onely acceptable, as it is destinated to a second which is spirituall, and pleasing to God through Iesus Christ, as being the symbole or participated forme, whereby Christs righteousnesse becomes actually ours. The truth of this distinction was supposed by S. *Iames*, otherwise he had set those soules, which he sought to cleanse, in a perpetuall *backwater*. Vnto men as then not justified nor spiritually purified; vnto all, (notorious sinners not excepted) for to them by especiall title was that exhortation directed; *Draw neare to God, and he will draw neare to you. Iam. 4. 8.* Suppose the parties, to whom he spake, should haue replied thus; *Vnlesse God draw neare to vs by his sanctifying grace, how should we draw nearer to him then we are?* Had their reply beene pertinent, and iust? If iust, his exhortations following had beene altogether fruitlesse and impertinent; *Cleanse your hands ye sinners, and purge your hearts ye wavering minded. Iam. 4. vers. 8.* No moderne Catechist knowes better then he did; That God alone must spiritually cleanse and purifie, because he alone creates that grace in their hearts, whereby this their sanctification is wrought. Yet that they might be finally so cleansed, and purged by his meere grace, they were first morally to be cleansed, by abstinence from vnrighteous actions, by denying of indulgence to internall lusts. This wavering of minde, though it spring from impuritie of heart or corrupt affection; (as one obserues) is no ill signe in youth, but rather the working of the soule, seeking to purge it selfe from corruption; although a wavering and floating imagination is for the present most vn-capable of the impression of Gods image.

3. As corruption of nature doth sway vs both to conceiue, and bring forth euill of every kinde : so our acquired pronensse to practise it, being outwardly curb'd, or our naturall propensions by Gods providence diverted from such objects, as might entice or inlarge them, the light of nature as yet not sanctified will manifest the folly of our former wayes, and oft-times cause notorious malefactors to water their cheekes with teares, in signe they would (as perhaps for the present in part they doe) wash their consciences from wonted vncleannesse, if it should please God to grant them opportunitie of testifying their resolutions by reformation of life prolonged. And what they thus protest may be either meerey pretended, or vnfaignedly purposed. So may purposes, for the time being vnfaigned, be either temporary and weake (easie to be defeated) by future opportunities ; or firme, and constant, able to resist all ordinary or wonted incitements to commit externall mischieses. Such they may be, and yet never approach the confines of true spirituall renovation.

4. That hearts thus farre cleansed and mollified are more apt to admit the true stampe or character of any morall truth, and may be more easily and farther poized with any wholesome admonition or reproofe: needs no further prooffe, than that, which is aboue all proofes, which can be brought to the contrary, common experience. And although in the heate of passion, or by renitency of contrary impulsions, our apprehensions of truths formerly imprinted or then first represented, be not so cleare, or though our judgments be corrupt and partiall ; yet such as haue laid

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* *Philip.
Mocenicus.*

vp these sacred principles in their hearts, giving them little or no vent, except in practise, will in these cases suspect their iudgement, and appeale from passion to calme and sober meditations. Many pleasant and gratefull fancies, which secretly intrude themselues by night, are often mistrusted by some, even whiles they dreame; though the like dreames in others, which haue lesse occasion to beleue them, are exempt from all suspicion. The cause of difference, as an exquisite * Philosopher tells vs, is this. In the one, the passages betwixt the braine, and the heart are in some sort open: in the other so stopt, that the head, which serues as an illiterate messenger or newes-carrier to the heart, can haue no direction or resolution thence, but takes every thing for true, that hath any appearance of truths formerly experienced in waking thoughts. This falls out so, as if, whiles grand Counsellors sleepe, Post-boyes should take vpon them to determine of matters of state by vulgar rumors concerning the secrecies inclosed in their Packets. The vigilant thoughts of men attentue to worldly businesse or bent to vice, can be no better in sacred matters, than dreaming fancies in matters secular. No morall knowledge not implanted in a purified heart, but vpon intercourse of passion or new occurrence, either vanisheth or varieth as strangely and quickly, as nocturnall representations. Nor is it possible any sacred knowledge should enter into our hearts, vntill they be in some measure cleansed of their native rust or adventitious foulness.

5. Not vnconsonant to as much of *S. Iames* divinitie, as hitherto hath beene discussed, is that resolution
of

of Seneca in the beginning of his naturall or theologi-
call questions (for God and nature were to him as one)

" *Mustum interest inter, & bonam valetudinem, &c.*

" *There is a great difference betweene health and strength:*

" *Thou carriest about no counterfeit face, nor framest thy*

" *speech unto anothers minde: Thy heart is not invailed,*

" *thou art free from avarice, which deprives it selfe of what*

" *it hath purloined from others; from luxurie, which re-*

" *paires the wasted stocke more filthily, then it was wasted.*

" *Thou art not subiect to ambition, which seldome brings*

" *men unto dignitie, but by base and indigne practises?*

" *Thou art as yet a non-proficient, and rid of all other ill*

" *guests, not of thy selfe. The vertue we ayme at, is magni-*

" *ficent: not that it is in it selfe a happy thing to be without*

" *vice, but that want of evill doth free the minde, and pre-*

" *pare it for the knowledge of heavenly matters, and quali-*

" *fie it for acquaintance with God. Plotin likewise (a-*

" *vouching the consent of the auncient) makes every*

" *vertue a beame or ray of the former purification, in*

" *his opinion requisite for attaining vnion with the*

" *prime light or fountaine of beautie. What is tempe-*

" *rance but abstinence from bodily pleasures, as being*

" *neither pure in themselves, nor fit for any affecting*

" *puritie of life to follow? Wisedome and Prudence e-*

" *rect the minde to things supernall, and keepe it a-*

" *loofe from this inferior and base part of the world,*

" *which pollutes it. Wherefore it was truely said; That*

" *the goodnesse, and beautie of the humane soule con-*

" *sists in being like to God. But by what meanes in his*

" *divinitie must our soules put on his likenesse? By put-*

" *ting off, whiles they ascend to him, the vitious habits, which*

" *they put on in their descent to worldly spectacles; as those*

that

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that enter into the sanctuaries of the Temples, put off their garments, and approach not the presence of the gods till they be purified. And againe, Our soules must be divorced from all corporall beautie, before we come acquainted with the prime light or fountaine of beautie, of whom all bodily perfections are but images, on which who so doates, or esteemes as objects worthy of his loue, shall be partaker of his folly, that drowned himselfe by assaying to embrace faire shadows in the water. For thus enclaspt with loue of bodily decencie, that he cannot acquit himselfe from it, he must needs suffer a precipitation (not so much of body as of soule) into a pit darke and gastly to the minde of man; blinded both amongst the infernall ghosts, and even whiles they liue here, haunted still with ghosts or shadowes. That is our Country whence we came, and there is our settled place of dwelling.

“ But what is the meanes or manner of our retire? Wee
 “ need neither shippe nor chariot, nor horse, not so much as
 “ the vse of our owne feete: all these we must forsake, not
 “ vouchsafing once to looke backe vpon them after wee be
 “ set on in this iourney. Our bodily lights being shutt wee
 “ must provide vs another eye. But what must this inter-
 “ nal eye beholde? Vpon the first opening or wakening, it
 “ cannot easily fixe it selfe vpon excessiue brightnesse.
 “ What remedie then? The soule must be inured by degrees,
 “ first to looke into honest and ingenuous studies; after-
 “ wards to contemplate such actions of famous men, as are
 “ fit patternes for others to follow; lastly to take the true
 “ characters of these good actors minds. But they shall by
 this meanes be enabled to take a true draught of their
 “ own forme? If thou canst not see thine own latent beau-
 “ tie, propose the statuary for thy imitation, pare off super-
 “ fluities and exorbitances, rectifie obliquities, and giue lu-
 “ stre

“ stre to parts obscure or duskie, and never giue over poli-
 “ shing and trimming thy statue, until vertue display her
 “ radiant beames, untill thou seest temperance establisht
 “ in her immaculate throne. Thou needst no Mercury for
 “ thy direction, intend thy sight: for such alone, as now
 “ thou art, can truly behold that excellent beautie. Plot.
 “ Ennead. 1. lib. 6.

6. Out of this Heathens Philosophie, that Chari-
 tie, which should be in Christian Divines, would ex-
 tract much matter, well symbolizing with the words
 of life. Howbeit, lest either young Readers should
 wrong themselves by doating too much vpon these
 or like passages, or Divines should deprive him of his
 due; let vs see a little farther wherein they decline from
 Christian truth. It was an heavenly doctrine of *Plotine*
 “ and other Heathens; That gold being severed from
 “ drosse or gleibs of earth often intermingled with it,
 “ and the soule of man once purified from vice or ex-
 “ ternall impressions, both recover their native beau-
 “ tie: that the soule thus recovering her native splen-
 “ dor, becomes a true glasse for right representation
 “ of Gods image or his attributes. But the best of the
 Heathen wanting this perspective glasse, whereby
 things of heavenly nature must be discovered, could
 not discern many internall spottes or blemishes,
 which no lesse pollute the humane soule, then those
 running sores, wherewith most others beside them-
 selves were in their judgement foully infected. Besides
 these mentioned, much of their seed wee cannot deny
 to be most pretious, as being either borrowed from
 the Hebrewes, since the law was written, or propaga-
 ted from *Noah* the Preacher of righteousness. Yet
 even

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* James. 5.

* *Fingunt illa litera, vegetantq; puerile ingenium, atq; ad divinarum scripturarum cognitionem mirè praparrant, ad quas ilico pedibus manibusq; illotis irrumperè, pene sacrilegi genus est. Hieronymus eorum impudentiam taxat, qui modo a secularibus literis profecti, audent divinas tractare scripturas. At quanto faciunt impudentius, qui ne gustatis quidem illis, istuc ipsum audent?* Erasmi. Enchirid. cap. 2.

even the best, that they did sow, compared with *Pauls* or *Apolloes* labours, proved in the growth but like grasse or greene blades vpon the house-toppe, withering before they be ripe. And thus ill it proved, becaule not sowne in contrite hearts, because not rooted in true humilitie, never watered with penitent teares, without whose moysture the seed of Gods word ordinarily receiveth no iust increase. If wee may iudge of other Heathens by *Plotine*, and of *Plotine* by those instances wherein he sought to be most wise, their purest doctrine was infected with a double error: the one, that it was but a kinde of hand-labour to put of bad habits, or cleanse our soules from such filth, as had befallen them, from contagion of externalls; the other, that perfect splendor, beautie of minde, or fulnesse of felicitie, did immediately result from these morall abstractions or resecations of superfluities. Hence were he and his fellow Philosophers often occasioned to triumph before victory; to boast of libertie, when they had but laide aside some externall badges of slavery; to reioyce when they should haue sorrowed. For of that true purification, which is but as the ground or matter of spirituall reformation, penitent teares and secret mournings are parts essentiall: *Suffer afflictions, and sorrow ye, and weepe. Let your laughter be turned into mourning, and your ioy into heaviness.* Cast downe your selues before the Lord, and he will lift you up.

7. Howbeit as in comparison of our Apostle I must condemne them: so for other contemplations and good directions I cannot but iustifie them in respect of many professed Divines, which intrude themselves into

into the *holy of hollyes*, and pry into Gods secret coun-
sels, without any manifest change of minde or affecti-
on, scarce of rayment, except perhappes to make a co-
lour of change vnto the world, by alteration of the
hew, oftentimes more then wontedly pampering their
wonted greene desires, vnder the shelter of a sable suite
or candide robe. And I haue often observed it to my
griefe; that as none declaime more passionately a-
gainst dead heresies; then dissolute and licentious li-
uers: so in questions of greatest moment, and on their
part of fearefull consequences, if they should happen
to proue false, none resolute more peremptorily for
their owne, or more vncharitably against others opi-
nions, then such as haue least sounded the fundamen-
tall principles of true diuinitie, most vnable to judge
of consequences. None, more impatient of contra-
diction by others, then such, as being let alone, will in
“ few lines often contradict themselves. To bequeath
“ titles of auncient heretickes to their liue brethren:
“ to shoote out their bitter arrowes, at all adventures,
“ against as many of their fellow souldiers, as doe not
“ shoote by their compasse, none are more forward
“ then such, as never sought to know God, but by
“ heare-say; having made a secret covenant with their
“ sluggish selues to take that to be the true sense and
“ meaning of his word, that to be the right tenour of
“ his will, which some worthy Divines (more com-
“ mendable for generall paines, then for exact dis-
“ cussion of these particulars,) but in whose writings
“ they haue beene most conversant, shall avouch.
If they can put a new fashion on vulgar, olde worne,
or home-spunne stufte, nothing forraigne, though of

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the same threed better woven, and more durable, must be admitted. What is the reason? Like neate artificers they rate their hand-labours in materialls of others providing too high. Not to vtter their olde notes or gatherings of youth, is a losse no lesse to them, then for Marchants not to vent such wares as haue layne long vpon their handes. And whatsoever they haue vttered to the world by word or pen, they deeme it no small part of their credit to warrant (if neede require) by solemne oath for good stufte. By this confidence they gaine credit with the multitude, and having this, verily they haue their full reward. But seeing the most exact knowledge, that can be had of God or of his attributes in this life, must still end in admiration; the first and surest ground of true knowledge in this subject, must be avoydance of peremptory and precise determinations in particulars of confessed difficultie. To hold negatives, directly contrary to many particular resolutions commonly received; is alwaies more easie, oftentimes more vsfull, and for the most part more necessary, then to determine of affirmatiues. Nor is it necessary we should abate the strength and vigour of our assent to generall principles for want of sure footing in speciall difficulties; but rather hold it by a hanke or reyne from violent courses in ruggie or slippery passages. This kinde of suspense, which proceedeth from *restraint* of judgement, not from *deadnesse* of devotion, is the mother of admiration, and admiration the nurse of all true knowledge concerning God.

8. One of the best meanes of knowing, what may be knowne of him in this life, is by knowing our selues;
and

and the best way to know our selues is to learne the meaning of that precept of *denying our selues*. This is a depth never dived into by any Heathen, nor well sounded by most Christians, though the true and perfect image of God be no where so conspicuous, as in the bottome of it. The hidden treasures of his *mercy* and *goodnesse* (attributes most essentially annexed to the common *notion* of his nature) were clearliest opened to the world in the humiliation of our Saviour: and that glory of the God-head, which shined in him cannot be represented vnto vs, vnlesse the like minde be in vs, which was in him. But the particular branches of this dutie spring more directly out of the Articles concerning Christ, vnto such knowledge (of whom so much as may bring forth the true similitude of his minde, the true knowledge of the diuine nature, and generall attributes, is by way of method necessary, and vnto this knowledge the generalities of the former principle presupposed, and practised,) there is yet a more excellent way.

CHAPTER L I.

The best meanes to rectifie and perfect our knowledge of God is to loue him sincerely. Of the mutuall ayde or furtherance, which the loue of God and the knowledge of God reciprocally and in a manner circularly afford each to other in their setting and growth.

I.  O make loue the mother, and knowledge the daughter will seeme an *ὑπερτροφία* or meere inversion of natures progresse, from whose footesteps the

Sectio. 6. common Maxime, [*unseene unsought after*; or (as the Latines expresse it,) *ignoti nulla cupido*; *unknowne undesired*;] hath beene gathered by the investigators of truth. The very essences of desire and loue (especially of things not actually enioyed) are so closely enterwrapt and linkt together, that for knowledge, or whatsoever is no essentiall part of themselves to interpose or come betweene them, is impossible. If then knowledge (according to the former saying) be alwayes presupposed to desire, how should it be the offspring of loue?

2. The former Maxime notwithstanding (if I much mistake not) though within its limits without controule, yet rightly examined hath no just authoritie, saue onely in such expresse and actuall desires, as are fashioned to determinate *particulars* desired. It no way stretcheth to that *mother* desire, which all men naturally haue of knowledge indefinitely taken. This alwayes workes before we are aware, and all of vs desire to know, before we know what knowledge or desire meaneth. This native desire of knowledge, no man I thinke (were he to speake directly and *bona fide* to this point) would avouch to be different from the desire of happinesse alike naturally and inseparably rooted in all. One, & the same inclination of the reasonable nature swayes to happinesse, as to the end or marke, through knowledge, as the entry or passage; but often miscarries, not so much through faint intention or remisse endevours, as from too hastie leuell, vnsteadie loose, or immature delivery, before it be furnished with internall weight to ballance it selfe against externall impulsions or attractions. Goodnesse divine, in
whose

whose fruition this happinesse consisteth, was the *port* for which the Philosophers in their intricate disputes were bound: the *point*, whereon the former desire is by nature directly set; but from which the alacrious endeavours or vigorous intentions of men most greedy of knowledge, vnsually divert as far, as an headlesse vnfeathered flight, shot out of a strong bow in a mightie winde, doth from the marke whereto the Archer would haue sent it. Not the most exquisite knowledge of natures secrecies, of every creature in the world, can adde ought vnto our happinesse, otherwise than by rectifying or right levelling that inbredde desire, which impells or swayes vs to this anxious search of knowledge. For knowledge it selfe we desire onely as it is good, whereas no goodnesse, saue divine, can giue satisfaction to this desire. Vnto this point or center of the soules rest and contentment, which Philosophers sought vp and downe by as many Arch-lines, as there be spheres or circles in the severall workes of nature, the *Psalmist* directs vs by a short corde or string: *Delight thou in the Lord, and he shall giue thee thy hearts desire.* Psal. 37. 4. And our hearts desire includes (at least) such a measure of knowledge and true happinesse, as in this life is fittest for vs. But as we may in some sort desire his goodnesse, may we so truely delight in him, whom wee haue not knowne? Is it true of our hearts, what *Iacob* said of * *Bethel*? *Are they indeed the houses of God? is he in them, and wee are not aware of his presence?*

* Gen. 28.

3. Of things in their nature sensible, but never apprehended by any particular sense, there may be an implanted hate or loathing. As whatsoever the mother

Seccio. 5. ther neare childebirth hath beene affrighted or misaffected with, will be misliked by the childe brought forth. Hence doe these secret enmities, which some reasonable creatures beare to dumbe beasts, which never offended them, vsually growe. The Paroxysmes or fits of this dislike, are never occasioned but by sight or feeling, or some other sensitive actuall apprehensions of matters thus offensive: howbeit, some grudgings of the same disease may be procured by meere vicinitie or the vnkowne presence of the adversary; as I haue known some men, restless after hard labour, and ever and anone to refuse the seate of their wonted rest, not knowing any reason, why so they did, till search being made, the sight of their adversary, (that was a Cat) did bring their fit vpon them. And yet I make no question, but either delightful imployments, exercise of the spirit and senses, or the company of louely creatures, might easily haue either *prevented* the working of the Antipathie, or *deadened* all impression of irksomnesse or dislike; although their badde neighbour had still beene present. As dislike and hate from antipathie; so loue or delight may be raised from secret contact or vicinitie of sympathizing natures. And whether we holde our soules to be immediately created of nothing, or to spring as branches from our parents; both wayes they may be capable of impressions from Gods presence, which (though for the most part vnapprehended) is alwayes intimate and immediate to them as well in their operations, as productions; and would vndoubtedly fill them with secret joy, did we not either giue preposterous issue to such gladnesse, as by the sympathie is often vnwittingly

tingly raised in our hearts; or stifle the first workings or intimations of it by contrary motions of vnhal-
lowed mirth. Were those secret rayes of warmth and
comfort, which daily issue from his brightnesse, not
cast (as they vsually are) vpon secondary causes or
by-standing creatures, but reflected vpon their foun-
taine; the light of his countenance would more clear-
ly shine vpon vs, and instampe our mindes with the
right *portraicture* of his perfections imitable. The
summe of the *Psalmists* late mentioned advise is, to
nurse the sympathizing instincts or seeds of secret joy,
but by abandoning all delight, saue in those practises,
which preserue the health and peace of conscience.
For to delight in the Lord and in his law, are with
him tearmes synonymall. Vnto this point the last pas-
sages of the fourth booke, as of *laying vp Gods word in
our hearts*, of giving mature and right vent to internall
motions or suggestions, haue (as the Reader will ea-
sily perceiue) peculiar and immediate reference.
The imperfect light of speculative or artificiall know-
ledge may well beget some heate of loue: but the per-
fection or splendor of knowledge diuine cannot
spring but from loue thoroughly kindled and bursting
out into a flame, which it seldome doth, if those in-
ward touches of vnknowne joy, finde too much, too
speedie, or sinister vent. It is an excellent obseruation,
which some haue misquoted out of *Plato*, to this pur-
pose. Sacred mysteries can hardly be taught with
words: but if a man long inures himselfe to diuine
matters, and fit his life to his meditations, the light
of truth will suddainly burst out, as from a sparling
fire. *Vide Pansam. pag. 9.*

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Gerson and
Vasquez.

4. The doctrine proposed we may maintaine without intermedling in that quarrell betweene some late * Schoolemen and mysticall Divines more auncient, concerning the precedency of loue and knowledge, in the vnition of our soules with God. In the opinion of the auncients, the acts of loue or affection outstart actuall knowledge or apprehension. Wee onely giue this precedency to the indefinite desire or apprehension of manifest joy from a cause vknown and latent. And perhaps the reason why some so stiffely deny all possibilitie, *etiam de potentia dei absoluta*, for loue to kindle in the rationall soule, without some present elicit act of knowledge or apprehension, may be their avernesse from *Plato* in holding science to be but a kind of reminiscence. And though vpon these termes we may not second him; yet can wee as little brooke their opinions, which either expressely maintaine or tacitely suppose the manner, how loue or knowledge rationall are first planted or receiue increase, to resemble the compositions of art, rather then the naturall growth of vegetables. The first seedes of both, are not from without, but within vs; and the manner how our knowledge comes to perfection, may (I take it) be best illustrated by the manner how wee our selues become capable of this chiefe ornament of our nature. The first and prime substance of all bodies organically is homogeneous or of one forme. The mould, whence man (farre the most excellent in this ranke) is by degrees (scarce sensible) extracted, ought to be reckoned rather amongst the creatures linelesse and inanimate, than vitall. At the best, it is but as the *meane* betweene them, not more like to the one in *possibilitie*, then

then it is to the other in *act*; yet duely cherished, it quickeneth and brancheth it selfe into severall parts, first exercising onely the operations of *life*, then of *sense*, lastly of *reason*. For although the rationall soule be immediately created by God; yet the operations of it, as naturally presuppose the operations of sense, as these doe operations vegetable. Parallell hereto, our naturall desire of knowledge or true happinesse (considered in its first roote or element) is but (as the Schooles speake) *Quoddam natura pondus*, A sway or bent or secret working of nature, seeking to be delivered of this her burthen. Afterwards it aymes or levells at some particular objects, rather drawne vnto them by sympathie or impeld by instinct, then directed by expresse rule of reason or actuall choyse. And perhaps, the first thing apprehended by it, is its owne attractions or impulsions; the apprehension of them being but as it were a reflexe or doubling of former inclinations or propensions; and once come to this perfection, it moues it selfe, and loues as well the exercise of its owne acts or choyce, as the objects, to which it was otherwise drawne or impeld; now vsing sense as a servant, which before did leade it as a guide, but did not giue it life or beginning.

5: As foode received by the mother doth onely nourish, not giue life to the fruit conceived in her wombe; so the most pregnant suggestions of sence doe onely feed, not beget the internall desire of knowledge or happinesse. The best instructions or precepts of Tutors, of Parents, or the experiments wee get our selues, are but as so many *offices* or *rules* of *Midwifrie*, for bringing forth what was before conceived.

Medi-

Sectio.6. Meditation it selfe, (which is, in common reputation, the mother of science) or whatsoever intention of minde we can vse, serue no otherwise to the former purpose, then the influence of the Sunne or Starres doth to the productions of flowers or plants; or (were the story true) as the eyes of Ostriches, or the warmth of other birds to the formation of their young ones. And thus we see naturall inclinations or desires alwayes come to best prooffe, when they are cherished with assiduous, calme, and quiet meditations: whereas the nimble motions of vnsetled braines vsually suffer the best seedes, which *Man* was permitted to bring with him out of Paradise, to perish, as some birds doe their young ones, by often running off their nests. Not that their inventions are not oftentimes most pleasant, or delightfull to spectators: for so curious pictures observantly taken from the severall perfections of many liuelesse statues, doe farre surpass any one liue-substance in freshnesse of colour or exact proportion; howbeit, the meaneft creature endued with life, and motion, simply considered, is much better then the most glorious workes of *Polycletus* or *Apelles*. And herein the nimble or pleasant wit, and the setled contemplator properly differ: The one proceeds by addition, or quaint composition of externall or borrowed formes; the other, by multiplication of his owne internall capacities; or by a kinde of silent incubation, doth as it were hatch his brood, and finds every limbe or branch drawne out of his proper roote, before he marke the frame or posture. And though the conception be sometimes slow, and the proportion long in setting; yet the fruit of his *minde* once

once thoroughly *sett*, overgrows the other in height, in strength, and vigour. But vnto this facilitie in bringing forth, few attaine without extraordinary midwifry or much experience. The difficulties of their first travells make many prostitute their wills to fruitlesse popular commercements, never resolving to conceive more deeply of any matters, then may occasion extemporary pleasure or delight, or procure some anniversary or solemne flashes of generall applause. But much more painefull, then any contemplation besides, whereof the reasonable soule seeketh to be delivered, is our owne new birth, which, in the Apostles language, is but the fashioning of Christ Iesus or Gods image in vs. In this our *translation* from *darknesse to light* how often are we enforced to cry out with *Ezechiah*; *The Children are come vnto the birth, and there is no strength to bring forth*. Sometimes we seeke with sighes and groans to giue vent to the inward working of the implanted inclination, stirred and quickened by the spirit of God. Otherwhiles, we strue to strengthen the expulsive force, or to make an eruption by knocking our breasts; oftimes enforced to rest contented with a streame of teares, strained out by this strugling agonie betweene the infusions of spirituall life, and the flesh resisting this our birth, as the Dragon did the bringing forth of the Womans childe. Howbeit these sorrowful teares serue to this end, as a spring or summer shower to a ioyful harvest. And the greater our paine in the travell, or the longer our expectation hath beene masked with carnall blindness; the greater alwayes is our joy in the delivery; when our minds are enlightened to see the beautie of that, which heretofore

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tofore we so fervently expected, only by secret instinct or sympathie. Then fearing lest these transient gleams might fade or vanish; either we craue with olde *Simeon* our *Nunc dimittis*, *Lord now lettest thou thy servants depart in peace, while our eyes beholde thy salvation*, or complaine with the Prophet, *How long wilt thou be as a passenger or as one, that sojourneth but for a night? Returne o Lord, returne unto thy resting place, thou, and the Arke of thy strength. And with Peter, Wee proffer to build him a lasting tabernacle, to allot him our hearts for a perpetual habitation.*

6. What joy of heart doth vsually accompany those internall illuminatiōs, which breake forth from such ardent desire of acquaintance with the divine nature, as hath beene secretly kindled and nourished by a touch or sympathie of his former vnapprehended presence; and how incomparably they exceede the most lively representations which others can frame of his essence or attributes, whether for solid information of the vnderstanding, for *affecting* the will, or for vniting our soules and affections to him, may in part, be gathered from that excessive delight, which men naturally take in their owne labours in respect of others more exquisitely adorned: partly from the *measure* of our exceeding our selues either in the right apprehension or exquisite adorning of subjects much affected, in comparison of these which wee naturally fancy not or lightly esteeme. The fruits of other mens labours, being as it were, gathered to our hands, we like no farther, then as they fit those *moulds* of our speculatiue reflectiue conceites, which haue their seate in the superior part of the soule, and scarce com-

communicate with affection. And our judgements are alwayes most sincere in respect of those mens workes, whose persons or conuerſation haue given vs least occasion of any affectionate ſympathie or antipathie. But in the approbation of our owne inventions, *affection* and that naturall *inclination*, whence they ſpring, haue ſwaying voyces: and vnleſſe theſe ſtubborne ſuffragants be firſt ſquared to the rules of reaſon taught by others, they enforce our judgements to bow vnto their bent. But albeit too much affection leadeth many into folly, yet no man vnderſtands or handles any ſubiect well, which he doth not much affect. Hence Poets, as their inventions are moſt delicate, ſo are they vſually moſt in loue with them; becauſe the ſame *bent* of affection, which animates and ſtrengthens their fancies to bring forth, doth alſo *enamour* them with the beautie of their owne broode. Howbeit though indignation may giue the facultie of making verſes, where nature hath denied it: yet to make a Poet, nature it ſelfe is not able, but by giving an extraordinary affection of like or * diſlike, of ſuch objects as fall within the conſideratiō of the Poeticall facultie. Generally as blunt yrons throughly heated peirce further into hard bodies, then cold edg tooles; ſo witts in themſelues not the acuteſt, whileſt accompanied with ardor of affection, conceiue moſt acutely and deeply of matters much affected, and will goe through ſuch difficulties, as would turne the edges of the beſt witts living not thus backed or fortified. Nor is it the nimbleneſſe of conceit or apprehenſion, but the vnrelenting temper of inbred deſire and vnceſſant ſway or working of ſecret inſtinct, which brings

* Hoc amet,
hoc ſpernet
promiſſi car-
minis Au-
thor.

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brings the seeds of knowledge to iust growth and maturitie; as those plants prosper best, not which shoote out fastest or flourish soonest, but such as haue the soundest rootes, and sappiest stemmes.

7. As reason requires affection to backe it: so much more doth affection neede the eye of reason (domesticke or forraine) to direct and leuell it; nor is it onely directed, but withall refined and purified by being as it were new cast in the *modells* of our rationall or reflexe conceipts; each act of settled contemplation diminisheth somewhat of its naturall sownesse, as crabs or wilde apples by often transplanting or engrafting grow more milde and pleasant. As there is a circular progresse of seede from trees, and trees from seede: so is there a reciprocall production of desire or loue by knowledge, and of knowledge by desire or loue in one and the same man. For mans actions of this kinde are immanent, and multiply within himselfe. And as the seed since the first creation doth still in order of nature go before the tree; so doth knowledge alwayes presuppose instinct or desire. And yet knowledge of things amiable being come vnto maturitie is alwayes laden with loue, as with its naturall fruit. Nor should wee so much desire to know any subject, vnlesse loue to it knowne were most naturall. So that knowledge properly is but our naturall desire, or implanted blind loue restored to sight: and nature doth as it were first grope after that, which at length she comes to see, and having seene desires to embrace or kisse. The apparant inconstancy of yong desires never satisfied manifests their naturall blindness in that they secretly sollicite a guide or instructor: and the originall of this in-

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constancie, (as was intimated before) is but the working of the soule seeking to vnsheth the implanted notion or desire of knowledge and of true happinesse from those fleshly inuorapments, wherewith it was blindfolded as a childe in the wombe; or to deduce the originall of the error from a principle more properly Philosophicall. As vnto knowledge truly
“speculatiue there is required a perfect abstraction of
“the obiect knowne, or of the forme by which wee
“know it, from all materiall conditions, or sensitiue
“adiuncts, which accompanie it: so on the behalfe
“of the intellectuall facultie it selfe (especially for the
“right contemplation of matters morall or practical) a correspondent extraction of the ingrafted notion or desire of good is as requisite. For as those
“speculatiue or generall rules, which haue beene taken from sensitiue experiments not rightly severed
“or abstracted, though they holde in some, yet faile
“in most particulars, when wee come to practise: so
“likewise all loue of goodnesse whatsoever, is vn sincere and vnconstant, vnlesse the ingrafted desire of
“happinesse, whence it springs, be first stript of those
“sensitiue desires or propensions, which, by the corruption of nature are either linked with it or inclose
“it, as the Ivie doth the Oake. And yet the more wee enure our selues to any sensuall or externall good, the greater advantage those sensuall appetites or propensions gaine, as well for strengthening, as for fast linking or mingling themselves with the intellectuall inclination or desire, which by long custome they either quite blind, or make it willing to admit them for its leader.

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8. This then is the Aphorisme, for whose prooffe thus much hath beene premised; *The most compendious and safest way to conceive or speake aright of God or his goodnesse, is to have our inbred desire of happinesse right set in youth, and continually held as in a baye unto those practises; whereto God hath promised the communication of his gracious presence.* So shall the sincere knowledge of his goodnesse and other attributes breake forth (in a measure fittest for every man in his vocation) in best season, and bring forth the most lasting, constant, and pleasant fruits of loue. And knowledge againe relying vpon the internall desire of happinesse, which is the stemme or branch, whence these fruits of loue proceede, doth season and sweeten the very nature or propertie of it, and in a sort transforme from a wilde plant to a tree of life; as cunning gardiners by often transplanting & good dressing, much *better* the stocke, and in processe of time, in a manner, alter the very specificall nature of the fruit. And after our cogitations come once to revolve vpon the fore-mentioned sympathie or settled peace of conscience, (which cannot arise, but from Gods presence) as vpon a firme and constant Center, our soules become like a Surveyers Table rightly sett, for taking the ~~true Modell of the in-~~comprehensible Nature.

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